







# "One Tagore is enough for a thousand years"

Today Tagore-worship, a heavily subsidised personality cult, is a flourishing industry at home and abroad. Tagore has fallen among thieves and must be rescued from the snobs and the softheads. To know Tagore one has to be educated and that is a terribly difficult thing.

by Sisirkumar Ghose

**RABINDRANATH** Tagore was not just a maker of modern Indian literature. A culture hero, a rare renaissance character, he was more than that; he was a maker of the modern Indian mind and civilization.

A purely literary assessment may not do him full justice. It would miss the secret of his polymorphic personality, the splendour, spontaneity and surprise. The person, persona and personae are a fascinating study.

For long the country's ambassador plenipotentiary, he put us on the literary map of the world almost singlehanded. In spite of later hostility and indifference, the charisma holds. We are a little taller because of him. You are reason enough, someone had told him in New York, for Indian independence. In the country of his origin he has been treated on this side with idolatry, which may not be the best way to understand. To understand is harder than to celebrate. Who will make him new? To inherit, possibly, is not enough. We have also to renew and re-interpret.

Tagore was not only a poet but a poet's poet. A world-figure, Indian terms of reference may not explain him fully. Transcontinental, his peers will be found in distant times and beyond the seven seas. He sends us in different directions in search of the author. He is indeed not one, but many. In one of the birthday poems he had spoken of many Rabindranaths, *nana Rabindranath*. We shall get the Tagore we deserve. The question is: which Tagore are we getting?

He has written more memorable works than any other contemporary writer. But he was much more than an author. The person was as important as the poet. Few have touched life, and the life of the people, at more points. Without him there would be something missing in our

lives. For the aesthetic education of man he is indispensable. But times have changed and we need a fresh perspective. Criticise we must, but on bended knees. In spite of the reaction that has come and gone, he is still a living presence. Great poetry is for ever contemporary.

A poet's faith is not an easy thing. The sage image, of one at ease with himself and the world, is now a little suspect. To us problems are more significant than solutions. Tagore had his tensions and paradoxes, conflicts and contradictions. Nothing is gained by denying the fact. The hand that wrote *Gitanjali* also drew those odd, inexplicable paintings from out of some untrodden regions of the mind.

If this was one kind of modernity, the verbal brilliance of *Sesher Kabita* represented quite another. Even *Gitanjali* has its agony no less than ecstasy, its piety as well as protest. In any case, he is more than the poet of *Gitanjali*, which few today would rate as either his best or most characteristic work.

## A Solitary Swan

The paradox spreads everywhere. The elitist poet, who knew himself as an eternal outsider, a solitary swan, also wanted to belong. *Ani tomaderi*, "I am one of you," he had said, upwards the end of his life. How far is this true? The champion of a rural civilization, the message of the forest, was also a prophet of universalism and the "one world."

The pastoral bias did not prevent him from visiting Russia. The born romantic was also a protagonist of rational, if not scientific, values. While in the 70s, he had written a primer on astronomy, *Visvapanchaya*.

Another paradox: Tagore is the author of two national anthems, in quite different idioms. An irony and triumph of the muses, the feat is not likely to be repeated. His songs, quite unique,

tionless functions, throughout the world. Not only the acclaim in the West—sometimes its opposite too—but also at home was based on misunderstandings.

How long it will take to get rid of these one does not know. We must be a little like him before he can be one of us. Cultists and crooners can claim no identity. Tagore has fallen among thieves and must be rescued from the snobs and the softheads. To know Tagore one has to be educated and that is a terribly difficult thing.

The man who spoke of the jasmine song before the machine gun, was made of sterner stuff. Think of his renouncing the knighthood after the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre. That letter to the viceroy, written in blood, was a

slatable, will outlast his other works, outlast empires and the whirligig of taste. In a conversation Sri Aurobindo had once said: One Tagore is enough for a thousand years. The paradoxes are part of the picture, the heart of the matter.

Who has not warmed his hands before the fire of that life? If the fire is not there, all our incense-burning will be in vain, a waste of expense. Today Tagore-worship, a heavily subsidised personality cult, is a flourishing industry at home and abroad. But the image projected by the media and cliché-spouting VIPs, is not the Tagore we need, not the Tagore that matters. "Open thy eyes and see thy God is not before thee."

To piece together the phenomenon, his dangerous gift of a complex and challenging creativity, a profounder probe is needed. The versatility, the abundance and the dynamism are quite incredible. Creative to the fingertips, he continued to grow and change till the end. His death at 60 was premature. Poet, dramatist, novelist, short-story writer, painter, folklorist, prosodist, innovator in rural reconstruction and an education for fullness, thinker on national and international problems, religion and aesthetics, nothing human seemed to escape him.

The patriot was also a citizen of the world, a world to be. The secret of his seeking the balance between the global and the grass-root is lost on the majority. The champion of cultural interaction, at heart a solitary, had also advised us to "walk alone". But how many have learnt from the courage of the quest or the courage to be creative? His great expectations and experiments are in ruin, unlikely to be revived.

What most of us have done is to admire rather than to emulate. Is it enough to be hypnotised? We must also understand, assimilate and go ahead. To be his victims or to make them his victims is a mistake. Lesser men use his name to betray him. We are celebrating the dreamer while allowing the dreams to die. Is this his *Sonar Bangla* or vision of India? In the festival of Tagore he is the missing deity, *deus absconditus*. Only if the flame abides will our remembrance be right.

He too was not spared disillusionment. Perhaps there is no maturity without disillusionment. His last public address, "Crisis in Civilization", was as much about his loss of faith in the West as his abiding faith in India. A day will come, said the dying Rabindranath, when unconquered man will win back his lost heritage. "Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises." Shall we be worthy of his trust?



The

It is unfortunate  
Khastagir, a  
his court has  
under Article 22  
seeking to ban  
round that it  
against other re  
are violative of  
dangerous repu  
judicial scruti  
petition is  
terly baseless  
and the judge c  
uran, which a  
e would have  
miss it in  
lated case of  
The Quran  
aligned in the  
Anglo-Turk  
itish prime m  
lding the Q  
red in the Ho  
g as Muham  
ok with them  
enjoy quiet c  
hatred of  
phs of Islam  
should a ju  
ted excep  
tion of pr  
iman B  
ar from p  
inst other  
olds the ide  
d Extolling  
beginning o  
nkind were  
differed a  
h sent Prop  
gs and wa  
ation upon  
united is  
in that the  
t the sincer  
claration: "I  
ned to the  
no slayeth  
n guilty o  
ding disor  
ough he h  
at he who  
h he had

every peop  
at "a rightf  
between  
wronged  
ther, to ea  
containin  
the apc  
"In the  
to ma  
(14:14)  
the peop  
the book  
sed) and  
mother" th  
lves (2:26)  
Quran of  
ship to all  
tion to be  
ambiguous  
"O ye  
I worshi  
you wo  
shall no  
ship  
will you  
you, yo  
religion  
Quran  
it in judg  
exclusiv  
h" and

other p  
re clear



## I—Unto You, Your Religion

e of him who strayeth from His  
and He is best aware of those who  
ght" (16:125).

The Quran has been often so vilified in the past. At the height of the Anglo-Turkish tension, the then British prime minister, Mr Gladstone, holding the Quran in his hand, declared in the House of Commons: "So long as Muhammedans have got this book with them, we will never be able to enjoy quiet or peace in the world." The hatred of Ottomans who were the upholders of Islam was notorious, but should a judge allow himself to be influenced except by the highest consideration of probity.

far from preaching animosity  
toward other religions, the Quran  
holds the ideal of human brother-  
hood. Extolling the unity of man since  
the beginning of creation, it explains,  
"We were one community, then  
We differed among themselves, so  
We sent Prophets to announce good  
things and warn them", (2:213) The  
creation upon His creatures to re-  
main united is so clearly cast by the  
Quran that there can be no doubt  
of the sincerity and genuineness of  
this declaration: "For this cause have we  
warned to the children of Israel that  
who slayeth anyone, unless it be a  
murderer guilty of man-slaughter or of  
causing disorder in the land, shall be  
as though he had slain all mankind;  
and that he who saveth a life shall be as  
though he had saved all mankind."

the people "began to differ  
the book" (or the truth that it  
ned) and "out of envy towards  
other" they quarrelled among  
selves. (2:26)

• O ye  
I worship not that which you

you worship that which I

shall not worship that which  
ship  
will you worship that which I

you, your religion, and unto

Quran warns that no one  
it in judgment on other, that is

exclusive domain. He relates  
h and he is the best of

other place the position is  
more clear. "Lo! Thy lord is best

aware of him who strayeth from His way, and He is best aware of those who go right" (16:125).

The Quran stresses the sanctity of religious unity again and again: it explains how different faiths were revealed at different stages and in different times, and how, in fact, they were varying forms of the same religion which God revealed to Adam, how all the other prophets sent to different lands and speaking to their people in their own languages were the messengers of the same religion.

The Quran told the prophet "Nothing is said to thee that was not said to the apostles before" (41:43). He was also reminded that in the former prophets "ye have...a good example to follow." (40:6).

The Quran forbids making any discrimination between the different prophets and enjoins: "Surely, those who disbelieve in Allah and His messengers, and desire to make a distinction between Allah and His messengers, and say, 'We believe in some and disbelieve in others', and desire to take a middle course - these are veritable disbelievers" (4:149).

The Quran mentions certain prophets and their faiths and the followers of these are referred to as *ahlul kitab* or "people of the book"; but the list is, by no means, exhaustive. In fact there has not been "a people unvisited by a warner". (35:23)

As the Quran tells the prophet "And we sent some messengers whom we have not mentioned to thee" (40:78) And lest a people may feel that they alone have been favoured by Allah, it has been made clear, "And we did raise among every people a messenger preaching "Worship God and shun the evil one" (14:37)

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad explains in his *Tarjumanul Quran* or the commentary on the Quran: "The Quran states that the differences which exist between one religion and another are not differences in *din*, the basic provision, but in the manner of giving effect to it, or in the *shara* and *minhaj* not in the spirit of religion, but in its outward form." He quotes the following Quranic verse in support of his contention: "To every people have we appointed ways of worship which they observe. Therefore let them not dispute this matter with thee..." (22:66)

The well-known Muslim divine Syed Sulaiman Nadvi in his monumental work *Seeratun Nabi* Which is accepted in the India-Pakistan sub-continent as the standard book on the life of the prophet, illustrates the point further on the authority of Hazrat Shah Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Janaat Nadvi says: "According to the teachings of the prophet, it is necessary to believe that in countries such as China, Iran or India, there appear prophets before the advent of Mohammed. No Muslim can really deny to the peoples in these lands the truth of the faiths ascribed to the messengers venerated by them. On this basis some Ulema have described India as 'Rama and Krishna as prophets'."

Likewise, the great poet-philosopher of Islam, Allama Iqbal in his introduction to his translation of the Vedic hymn of Gayatri explains the similarity of approach between the Hindu concept of solar and the Muslim concept of noor and says "Thus to associate the Hindu religion

and

with *shirk* (ascribing partners to God)  
is in my opinion not correct"

Mirza Abdul Fazl in his *Faith of Islam* goes so far as to assert that according to the Quranic declarations, not only Moses and Jesus but "all the Vedic *rishis* of old ages and Rama, Krishna, Mahavira and Buddha of India, Zarathushtra of Persia and Confucius of China have alike a place in the hearts of the true followers of Islam".

The Quran also rejects the concept of a chosen people and says: "And they say: none but Jews or Christians shall enter paradise? These are their vain desires." (2:105)

The Quranic attitude is made clear in the following verses: "Nay, but whosoever surrendereth himself to God while doing what is right, his reward is with his Lord." (2:106) He should not "ridicule or deride others for "it may be that the other person is better than you". (49:11) Arguments with "wisdom and reason and wholesome preaching" is permissible (16:125), but no "defamation or insult of others". (49:11)

The Quran explains: "For each of you we prescribed a clear spiritual law and a manifest way in secular matters. And if Allah had willed he would have made you all one people, but he wished to try you by that which he has given to each. Vie then, with one another in good deed." (5:48)

Again the Quran has stressed: "And for every people there is a Messenger. So when their Messenger comes, it is judged between them with equity, and they are not wronged" (2:48) In *Sura Yunus* Prophet Mohammed is told: "And if thy Lord had enforced his will surely, all who are on the earth would have believed together. Wilt thou then, force men to become believers?" (10:100)

The answer was equally emphatic.  
"Let there be no compulsion in religion."

Now is the right way made distinct from error." (2:256)

The Quran is uncompromising about the unity of God but even he faithful are warned: "Revoke those unto whom they pray besides Allaḥ, lest they wrongfully revile Allaḥ through ignorance. Thus unto every nation have we made their deed seem fair." (6:109)

Even when summoning, there is Islam the Quran advises the Prophet on how to act "Say, in whatsoever books God hath sent down do believe I am commanded to decide justly between you: Gold is your Lord and our Lord: we have our works a you have your works: between us a you let there be no strife: God w make us all one. And to Him shall return." (42:13-14)

Such injunctions were delivered by the Prophet from time to time but the last *surah* the liberality of approach to the non-believers was made so clear that even in regard to those who "sell the signs of God for mean price and turn others aside from His way", the faithful were told: "Yet they turn to God and observe prayer and give alms, then they are your brothers in the faith" (3:75).

The Prophet was not only told that there could be "no compulsion in religion", but reminded that "we have not sent thee except as a mercy to created beings". (25:1)

(To Be Continued)

rights and privileges. No  
shall be removed from his  
ery, nor any monk from his  
ry, nor any priest from his  
ood, and they shall continue to  
everything great or small as  
No image or Cross shall be  
ed. They shall not oppress or be  
ed. They shall not practise the  
if blood vengeance as in the  
ignorance. No titles shall be  
upon them nor shall they be  
to furnish provisions for the

s reported that, when this on waited on the Prophet, he offered them hospitality but told them to pray according to the way in his mosque. Some of the powers tried to prevent them from doing so but the Prophet directed they should be given every facility according to their own creed. The pagans of Mecca, who were the worst enemies, the Prophet's was naturally hostile. They caused much trouble to him and his powers, including planning the death of the Prophet and the arrest of his followers. And still towards them, after his final victory, he was forgiving.

is one tradition in *Sahih* which mentions that one day in the crowded marketplace at the top of his voice "Glory to God, we bless Moses with victory over all the prophets!" A Jew of the Prophet asked, "Over Mohammed?" The Jew replied, "Yes." The companion asked him, "The Jew lodged a complaint with the Prophet. The Prophet ordered the companion to bring him to observe tolerance with others."

the Prophet was insistent on brotherhood of Muslims, he was aware that the Quran had stated him as a "mercy to all mankind" and hence he enjoined upon his followers, time and again, to remain loyal to the larger unity of all humanity. He told them:

kind is a fold every member  
ich shall be a keeper o  
rd unto every other and b  
table for the welfare of the  
fold' (Bukhān).  
of his favourite prayers was  
Lord! Lord of my life and o  
ning in the universe! I affirm  
ll human beings are brother  
ne another' (Abu Dawūd)  
misconception about the wor  
r kafr and mushrik or shirk  
ng to non-Muslims in the co  
accepted terms is due to histo  
asons There is no religio  
ation for it

he Quran the world *kafir*  
d to those who conceal or d  
he existence of God (and t  
or "non-believers"). And  
*mushrik* applies to those w  
others partners or sharers  
and thus deny the oneness.

cannot be denied that some rulers tried to spread Islam abroad. But this was done in violation of the injunctions of Allah. In one of the verses delivered through the prophet when he was at the height of his power, Allah enjoined: "Say to those who have been given the book, do not follow the footsteps of the ignorant. Do you agree or disagree with what I say?" Then, if they accept Islam, I will guide all right. But if they refuse, then their duty is to fight me." (3:19)

ere is also the misconception  
in quarters that Islam justifies  
the destruction of the religious plac  
holders of other faiths. This is in  
concordance with the Quranic t  
he fact in *sura al-haji* the Q  
res such acts "Had not  
ed one set of people by mea  
er, monasteries, churches  
ogues and mosques, where the  
of God is oft commemorated,  
assuredly have been pulled d  
(22:41)

(To Be Concluded)

are transferred to the  
religions and their property to the pre-  
sent as well as to the absent and others  
besides. There shall be no inter-  
ference with the practice of their faith  
or their observances. Nor any change



THE Prophet's immediate companions, in particular the first four caliphs faithfully followed his precepts and practices. Abu Bakr's democratic outlook, Omar's compassion for his non-Muslim subjects, Osman's charitable temperament and Ali's liberal leadership conformed to the Quranic tenets and the traditions of the Prophet. Soon after Abu Bakr became the First Caliph, there was a fierce battle in Syria. The Caliph sent Khalid Ibn al-Walid, one of the greatest military commanders that Islam produced to Ajnadayn, between Jerusalem and Gaza. He defeated the army of Heraclius and advanced to Damascus which capitulated in 635, after a six-month siege. Howe equitable were the terms of surrender which Khalid offered to non-Muslims on entering the city can be gauged from the following document.

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful, this is what Khalid Ibn al-Walid would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus. He promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city wall shall not be demolished, neither shall any Muslim be quartered in their houses. There unto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of his Prophet, the caliph and the believers. So long as they pay the tax, nothing but good shall befall them."

Omar, the second caliph, under whom the greatest expansion of Islam occurred, took special care to preserve the sanctity of the religious places of the followers of other faiths. This is borne out by many instances, the most famous being his treatment of Jews and Christians on the capture of the holy city of Jerusalem in 637.

Khalid's (Muslim military commander's) terms of surrender were acceptable to the patriarch Saphronius on one condition—that the caliph himself should come over to take delivery of the city.

Omar agreed and travelled a long distance from Medina to reach Jerusalem. He showed the utmost consideration to the Christian and Jewish inhabitants and promised them full protection. On the invitation of the patriarch, he visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre which is regarded by the Christians as most sacred because it is said to be the site of Christ's tomb. As he was going round the church, it was time for noonday prayers.

The patriarch offered to allow the caliph to say the prayers in the church. But Omar went and prayed outside on the bare ground. "If I were to pray in the church, some of my enthusiastic followers would trample on the floor."

NOTICE  
ENTRANCE COURSES

NOTICE

and every Polar ceiling

h double ball-bearing.

tan

Guarantee 7 Years

AR

choice

means

choice

choice

choice

choice

choice

choice

best religion; so do the Jews, the Christians, the Buddhists and others. This does not, however, mean that the Muslims consider the non-Muslims as inferior to them. Some fanatics may do but they are to be found in all religions. Being more attached to one's own faith is quite natural. Even Mahatma Gandhi, who laid down his life at the altar of communal harmony, loved Hinduism like his mother.

To quote his words: "Hinduism, as I know it, entirely satisfied my soul, fills my whole being and I find a solace in the Bhagavad Gita and Upanishads that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount". He frankly confessed: "The Quran, the Bible and the other scriptures of the world, in spite of my great regard for them, do not move me as do the Gita of Krishna and the Ramayana of Tulsidas." Does this mean that Gandhi had less respect for other religions?

Some *ulema* assert that Islam only tolerates other religions. It does not allow the Muslims to show equal respect to them. But these *ulema* were only quibbling with words. There can be no tolerance where there is no respect for the other's point of view. Even the dictionary defines "tolerance" as "the capacity for, or practice of allowing or respecting the nature, beliefs or behaviour of others".

## Imperial Past

Allama Iqbal, whose love for Islam was second to none, declared: "A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities."

The tragedy of Islam, as of other major religions, has been that no sooner had the first generation of believers, passed away, then other influences began to work on the people, corrupting the simplicity of the original approach. Because of its imperial past, Islam suffered the most in this respect. To suit the convenience of the variety of rulers, which came to the fore, the theologians were commissioned to give bewildering sometimes even contradictory comments on Quranic text. And even Hadith or traditions of the Prophet were concocted, religious decrees were made to order and *farwas* (judgements) were given to suit the whims and caprices of a particular Muslim ruler. There were, no doubt, many good rulers, who upheld the highest ideals of Islam, their names are legends. Babar, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, was one of them. In his testament to his successor Humayun, he wrote:

"Oh son! The kingdom of India is full of different religions. Praise be to God that he bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices of the tablet of thy heart, administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou can't capture the hearts of the people of India and subjects of this country may be favoured with royal obligations."

Do not ruin the temples and shrines of any community which is obeying the laws of government. Administer justice in such a manner that the king be pleased with the subjects and subjects with the king. The cause of Islam can be promoted more by the sword of obligation than by the sword of tyranny."

Dr Norman Daniel in his outstanding work *Islam And The West* points out how "the deformed image of Islam" was "deliberately established in the conscious European mind", though lies and distortions—upon which some Indian historians even now rely—and remarks "ultimately Fresham's law would come to apply to the circulation of statements about Islam, but it was a long time before the good drove out the bad." There are still many bad coins in circulation.

(Concluded)

## The Quran

Sir, — Dr. Rafiq Zakaria deserves full praise for his article Quran and its message. No religious text preaches animosity but only brotherhood of man! Quran is no exception for this.

But tolerance of other religions preached by the Quran does not seem to have been followed by majority of Muslims through the history. In the subcontinent the spread of Islam by the sword by Muslim rulers, destruction of places of worship of non-Muslims and the treatment meted to them by these rulers bear testimony to the fact that Islam in practice is different from Islam of Quranic teachings. Even to this day there is vast shadow between what the Quran preaches and what its followers practise. Ironically on the opposite page of Dr Zakaria's first serial of the article (TOI of May 14) appears a news item about public flogging of a christian couple in Karachi convicted under Islamic law of having illicit sex. "Unto you your religion, unto me my religion" is yet to be practised in many Muslim countries. The prosecution of Bahais in Iran by the Iranian government with a motive of total annihilation of the sect is yet another example.

It is Middle-East, the birth place of Islam, the enforcement of Islamic law on Muslims as well as on non-Muslims is too well known to be mentioned. It may be contended that every religion has its fanatics but the behaviour of the present day Muslim governments indicate that in them fanatics are a rule than an exception.

The Quran and its message certainly requires to be understood in totality more by its followers than its non-believers.

KS. SHENOY

Vasco-Da-Gama (Goa).



# Islamisation Of Pakistan

## Fervour Is Waning Fast

By SATYABRATA RAI CHOWDHURI

THERE is one thing president Zia of Pakistan is not likely to be seen dead doing and that is pursuing his plan for the total Islamisation of the country. *Nizam-i-Mustafa* as the fundamentalists call it. If the present mood of the people is anything to go by, the Islamic fervour is fast tapering off.

In Islamabad, the bare-headed college girls, without their *burqas* now freely stroll about in casual wear. The petite air hostesses of the PIA, who used to greet passengers with a tuneful "*Assalamalikum*" two years ago, now flash just a sweet smile. The waiter at a hotel welcomes the client with a broad grin—no "*Assalamalikum*". Few ministers and civil servants today preface their interviews with a solemn invocation of the Allah. The *mullahs* are furious to say the very least.

### Historic Plan

The fundamentalists started their movement for the introduction of *Nizam-i-Mustafa* with the blessings of the soldier-president himself who, as far back as February 1979, proclaimed his plan for the Islamisation of Pakistan. His proclamation was well-timed, his choice of venue ironic: it was on the auspicious birthday of the prophet Mohammed that he announced his comprehensive list of Islamic edicts. The chambers of the parliament he abolished 19 months ago. The main features of the scheme were: the abolition of interest within three years, imposition of *zakat*, a wealth tax and *ushar*, a government levy on agricultural produce, 80 lashes for the Muslim who drinks alcohol in any form, while citizens professing other faiths would be allowed to drink the beverage only during their religious festivals, stoning to death for *zina*—adultery or fornication, execution or a 25-year stint in prison for rape and amputation of the right hand at the elbow of thieves on a first conviction.

Though the government spent a staggering \$ 30 million to publicise and celebrate the "historic" plan, not many, including some religious leaders, appeared jubilant about it.

A day after the president's announcement, the Karachi Stock Exchange took a sharp plunge, with only 50,000 shares being transacted. With the official decision to levy 2-1/2 per cent *zakat* on all savings, there was a mad rush of bank depositors to withdraw their money.

For their part, most of the political leaders were chary of making any comment as it was a "very sensitive issue". However, a spokesman of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) ruefully said: "The depressing thing is that even if we come to power again, some of these measures would be irreversible." He knew that many of the party's orthodox members wanted the introduction of the *Nizam-i-Mustafa*.

Predictably, president Zia's Islamisation plan was most enthusiastically cheered by three extreme right-wing Islamic parties—Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam. Almost since the inception of Pakistan, they had been doggedly campaigning for the enforcement of a rigid Islamic order as in Saudi Arabia and Khomeini's Iran—drinking, gambling and prostitution would be banned, thieves would have their hands cut off and adultery would be punishable by stoning to death.

By contrast, the Pakistan Muslim League preferred a milder Islamic system, emphasising reform rather than brutal punishment. The National

Democratic Party, which was considered left of the centre, was concerned more with the socio-economic betterment of the people than with the introduction of Islamic fundamentalism.

No wonder that soon after the president's proclamation, the Jamaat-i-Islami's Maulana Mufti Mahmood urged the government to "ensure that the Islamisation measures are still in force after the election".

The Maulana's exultation at the triumph of fundamentalism over what he described as "heretical tendencies" was natural, for among the organised parties in Pakistan, the Jamaat-i-Islami alone had been working for the fulfilment of one single objective—the establishment of an Islamic state based on the injunctions of the Koran and the Sunnah. And it is no secret that president Zia's source of political strength is rooted deep in the Jamaat-i-Islami.

Ever since its establishment 42 years ago, the Jamaat's founder, Saiyyad Abul Ala Maududi, propagated the idea that *Jihad* was warfare for the defence of Islam and its object was to depose the *kufr* from the seat of authority. The first constitution of the Jamaat was adopted at a conference held on 26 August 1941, at the Islamia Park, Lahore. The constitution had only 11 articles.

One of them required a member to abstain from professions dealing in interest, alcohol, gambling, bribery, dance and music. Another enjoined members to resign from any post like that of governor, minister or judge which involved claims of sovereignty over a territory. Yet another required a member to resign from the membership of a legislature which did not accept the Koran and the Sunnah as the only source of law. Article 9 stated that women could be admitted to the Jamaat and that if their husbands or parents indulged in activities contrary to the teachings of God and the Prophet, they were to disobey them whatever the consequences.

Maududi had been a virulent opponent of the demand for Pakistan, because he believed that the Muslim League's demand for a separate state was not aimed at establishing an Islamic system of government. However, after the partition, he shifted the headquarters of the Jamaat to Lahore and started the campaign for the promulgation of an Islamic constitution and introduction of the *Nizam-i-Mustafa*. This campaign continued unabated despite all the upheavals that Pakistan had undergone since its inception. No wonder, president Zia's declaration was welcomed by the Jamaat as a turning point in Pakistan's history.

### Women's Protest

But not all people shared this ecstasy. Opposition to the plan came almost spontaneously from a cross-section of the people, many of them no less influential than the leaders of the Jamaat. Protest against the rigours of punishment became so widespread that even Mr Muhammad Munir, a former chief justice of Pakistan, publicly advocated leniency and compassion towards repentant sinners. He also pointed out that the Koran sanctions consumption of alcohol in "moderate quantity or as medicine" and prescribes 100 lashes for the offence of adultery—not stoning the offender to death.

The critics of the Islamic laws also questioned the rationale of amputation of the right hand as punishment for theft. This kind of savage punish-

ment they pointed out was not only contrary to the Koran but also to the United Nations covenant on human rights which provided that everyone had right to be protected from torture and any other form of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

A more fundamental question was raised by those whose faith in the Koran, the Prophet and the Sunnah was beyond all doubt. What kind of *Nizam-i-Mustafa* did the president want to introduce? Was it going to be based on the programme conceived by the Jamaat-i-Islami, or by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam or by the Ahrar Islam as propagated by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan or by the Shia or Sunni sects of the Muslims? This question has so far remained unanswered. It is well known that frenzied debate over this sensitive question has already touched off violent Shia-Sunni clashes in some parts of the country.

### Tinderbox Situation

Surprisingly, the most determined opposition to the presidential proclamation came from the women's organisations. When large numbers of women took to the streets agitating against the Islamic laws, the Ulemas threatened to declare them apostates through a *fatwa* which would nullify their marriages. The women ignored the threat and demonstrated in large numbers in the streets of Lahore. The fundamentalists had no word of condemnation when the women protesters were ruthlessly baton-charged and tear-gassed by the police.

The Pakistani women's protest movement took on a defiant hue because the Islamic laws were all set to reduce their status in society to that of slaves. They would be debarred from holding any judicial post. Their evidence in the Islamic court (*shariat*) would not be worth a straw. They would not be allowed to go abroad to participate in sports events. And to add insult to injury, Dr Asrar Ahmed, a religious scholar, alleged in a TV programme that women were responsible for sex crimes and therefore, they should not be taken in government jobs and should be sent home behind the *pyrdah*.

Dr Ahmed also demanded the removal of all women members from the Federal Council (*Majlis-e-Shoora*), because under the injunctions of Islam they had no role to play in the administrative affairs of the country. When Dr Ahmed's views sparked off a nation-wide protest, president Zia yavely assured that women would be allowed freedoms "under the restrictions imposed by our culture and civilisation". Far from removing the women's misgivings, the "assurance" was taken as a sure indication that they were in for more rude shocks.

Himself a devout Sunni, president Zia has been treading a precarious tightrope in his attempts to woo the Shiite sect which feels discriminated in his regime. Muslims of other sects are also smarting under a feeling of inferiority and injustice. The myth of *Nizam-i-Mustafa* has already been exploded. Therefore, any further attempt, in the name of Islamisation, to curb the people's elementary freedoms may prove to be the proverbial last straw.

Given Pakistan's tumultuous history, nobody should be surprised if in the country's prevailing tinderbox situation, the people's wrath flares up in a violent eruption. And if it does come to pass, the soldier-president rattling his medals will have nobody to blame but himself.



Zia, he say  
a foreign  
and with I  
tan to Bh  
ficed the  
staging hi  
return for

These and  
300-page s  
support of  
on him by  
came to k  
arrayed a  
ted ..."

# Th Bh nu

WHAT di  
what I  
were the f  
the Opposit  
gan to gath  
of Decembe  
- Reports  
began to c  
ginning of  
same month  
four-and-a-h  
with me. I  
was coming  
me who wo  
of PNA and  
other offic  
me the rea  
the strateg  
and of hi  
me that I

(a) of  
processing  
minent u  
will not  
(b) P

or,  
(c) F

quences.  
He kept  
should not  
his source  
speaking v  
what was  
him to ma  
advised m  
cessing Pl  
me that  
Opposition  
issue of th  
Only now  
mention n  
order to k  
hoping tha  
know the  
clear power  
reprocessing  
warned m  
around m



All Bhutto has accused President Zia of scuttling Pakistan's hopes of becoming a nuclear weapons power. Zia, he says, entered into a twin conspiracy for this: with a foreign power, which Bhutto clearly hints was the US, and with PNA, the main political opposition within Pakistan to Bhutto's own party, PPA. He alleges that Zia sacrificed the nuclear project in return for foreign help in staging his military coup. PNA abetted the betrayal in return for Rs 30 crore in "foreign money".

These and other allegations are contained in Bhutto's 300-page statement in the Supreme Court of Pakistan in support of his appeal against the death sentence passed on him by the Lahore High Court. Disclosing how he first came to know of the "hidden hands" behind the forces arrayed against him, Bhutto says in "If I Am Assassinated..." (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi):

## The price of Bhutto's nuclear plant

WHAT did surprise me and what I had not foreseen were the forces arrayed behind the Opposition. These forces began to gather from the middle of December 1976.

Reports on the hidden hands began to come to me in the beginning of January 1977. In the same month, Rafi Raza had a four-and-a-half hours' interview with me. He told me that PNA was coming into being, he told me who would be the President of PNA and who would be the other office-bearers. He gave me the reasons for the design, the strategy and the aim. At the end of his exposition, he told me that he had three alternatives:

- Forget the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant and the imminent unity of the Opposition will not materialise.
- Postpone the elections, or,
- Face very grave consequences.

He kept emphasising that I should not press him to reveal his sources but that he was speaking with full knowledge of what was taking place. I asked him to make his suggestion. He advised me to forget the Reprocessing Plant. He also informed me that during elections, the Opposition would not make an issue of the Reprocessing Plant. Only now and then they would mention nuclear power plants in order to hoodwink the people; hoping that the public would not know the difference between nuclear power plants and a nuclear reprocessing plant. Rafi Raza warned me that the people around me, those who were

making emotional noises and advising me not to budge an inch, would not be found when the curtain fell.

We continued our discussion over dinner. Afterwards, I thanked him for the valuable information and advice. However, I told him it was too late to postpone the elections, or to drop the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant. I further told him that we would win the elections fair and square; but if we did not, then the Opposition was welcome to drop, ditch or modify the Reprocessing Plant Agreement. Rafi Raza said that he had no doubt that we would win the elections, in a fair context, but that he had considerable doubt if we would be allowed to reap the benefits of the victory. As he would not expand, I remarked: "All right, we will lose the elections or not be allowed to eat the fruits of our victory." Looking through his thick horn-rimmed spectacles, and using his hand as a comb to straighten his side-parting and the back of his hair, ominously, Rafi Raza said: "But, Sir, I am trying to tell you that more than an election or an office is at stake." I replied cryptically: "I got your point and you got my answer."

Before leaving, he asked my permission for a question. I said, "Most certainly." Thereupon he asked, "Why are you doing all this? What makes you take such big chances with yourself and your family?" I told him that I was doing it to build an egalitarian society, to make my coun-

try strong and modern, to bring happiness to people who had no idea what the word meant. I told him that tears will always be shed but I wanted less tears to be shed and less bitterly.

My doctor, Naseer Shaikh, came to see me after the departure of my Minister for Production. He informed me that he met Rafi Raza in the ADC's room. The doctor, an observant man, remarked that he looked nervous and worried. He said, "Sir, he was as white as a ghost." Naseer Shaikh asked me if I had been harsh with him. I was in a reflective mood. "No," I replied, "I was not harsh with him. The subject we discussed was harsh."

After three years of intense negotiations, the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement was signed between France and Pakistan in March 1976. France was fully satisfied on the safeguards. The Agreement was concluded between my government on behalf of Pakistan and the government of President Giscard d'Estaing on behalf of France. The International Atomic Energy Commission at Vienna confirmed the Agreement. The United States representative on the Com-

not serve the purpose. He added ominously that France wanted modifications in the contract through negotiations. So that is it.

The President of France has offered a face-saver but has not saved the plutonium separating capacity of the plant. This means the end of the saga. In changing its position, the French Government has evoked the doctrine of *Rebus sic Stantibus*. The French Government concluded the agreement with a civilian and constitutional government, not with a military and dictatorial regime. The agreement was concluded with an elected Prime Minister of international stature who had earned the respect and confidence of three successive Presidents of France—de Gaulle,



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

mission voted in favour of confirmation. The necessary confirmation and approval by the International Atomic Energy Commission would not have come if the Commission was not completely satisfied with the safeguards. In August 1976, I rejected the counter-proposals of the United States. At that time, the French Government expressed its indignation over American interference. A consistent position was taken by France on the original Agreement until July 5, 1977.

After tantalizing the people of Pakistan for fourteen months and keeping the armed forces on tenterhooks, at last General Zia had to mention in his Press conference in Rawalpindi on August 23, 1978, that he had received a very polite letter from the President of France but it did

Pompidou and Giscard d'Estaing—and not with an incredible Chief Martial Law Administrator who keeps breaking his promises to his own people. The awesome implications of these developments were not weighed when there was a rush to join in the conspiracy to overthrow my government. At that time, the typical *Baad mei dekha jai ga* (we will see later) attitude prevailed. But this issue of the nation's life and death did not deserve such a flippant and callous approach. It must never be forgotten that politics carries its own dynamics. Now that the water carriers in the safari have come face to face with the super-power shikaris, they have got hoist by their own petard.

What does the regime propose to do to meet the threat of this qualitative change? More foreign aid? Now that it is officially ad-

only a name. Assiduously and with granite determination, I put my entire vitality behind the task of acquiring nuclear capability for my country.

I sent hundreds of young men to Europe and North America for training in nuclear science. I commissioned Edward Stone to build PINSTECH and laid its foundation-stone in the then wilderness of Islamabad. I negotiated the agreement for the 5-MW research reactor located in the PINSTECH. In the teeth of opposition from Finance Minister

and it, but that position was about to change.

Dr Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State for the United States, had a brilliant mind. He told me that I should not insult the intelligence of the United States by saying that Pakistan needed the reprocessing plant for her energy needs. In reply, I told him that I will not insult the intelligence of the United States by discussing the energy needs of Pakistan, but in the same token, he should not discuss the plant at all.



hang him, despite the flawed judicial verdict and the flood of international appeals for clemency to him.

What the flamboyant former president and prime minister of Pakistan is rebutting here is not the murder charge. For this has been dealt with by him and his principal defence counsel, Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, in the course of the court hearings. Mr. Bhutto seems to have been roused into writing out this rejoinder by what he calls "white lies" contained in the first two of the four white papers issued by the military regime to show that he rigged the 1977 elections and egregiously misused official machinery to impose a peculiar brand of personal despotism.

Now, Mr. Bhutto is not a snow-white innocent by any means. He has a lot more to answer for than the mere murder of the father of his protegee-turned-opponent, Mr. Ahmed Raza Kasuri. His imperiousness and tyranny are well-known. The number of friends and foes whom he gave short shrift is legion. Nobody can doubt that in his time political opponents were tortured in prison and detention camps in Azad Kashmir, outside the reach of the Pakistan courts. But the point is not whether Mr. Bhutto behaved abominably when in power but whether he is being dealt with more lawfully and fairly than he is alleged to have treated his adversaries.

The answer to this question, alas, is a painful one. And nothing illustrates the situation more vividly than the fate of the remarkable document he has penned "with the paper on my knee" and almost entirely from his prodigious memory, for he had no material other than the two white papers available to him. To this day the military regime in Pakistan has spared no effort to suppress and black out Mr. Bhutto's sharp indictment of it though it has been giving the widest possible publicity to its own white papers against him.

Technically, the Bhutto rejoinder is part of the supreme court's record. For, it was submitted to the bench hearing his appeal against the death sentence. But the newspapers were prevented from publishing any part of it. The press in which Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar tried to get it printed was sealed. Some foreign correspondents did send out short summaries of it and a typescript was smuggled to London where it was photocopied. But the credit for bringing out the document between hard covers goes to Vikas. For once, the enterprising publishing house may be forgiven for the plethora of printing errors because it seems to have done the job with break-neck speed. The book was on Delhi's stalls just three days after the confirmation of the death sentence by Pakistan's supreme court.

A thoughtful and thought-provoking introduction, contributed by Mr. Pran Chopra, adds to the book's value. In it, weighing the various options before General Zia-ul-Haq and reading the visible omissions, he comes to the conclusion that Mr. Bhutto's fate is more or less sealed because, for General Zia, it is a question of his own neck, or that of Mr. Bhutto.

Since large chunks of what Mr. Bhutto has to say have already

\*IF I AM ASSASSINATED:....  
By Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Vikas, Rs. 35)

seen the light of day in this country in the form of excerpts or commentaries in newspapers, there is no point in reproducing it at any great length. A brief summary of his main points should suffice. But before setting it out two points may be made.

First, that Mr. Bhutto has not contented himself with answering the charges contained in the two white papers. Of course, he does so in great detail and on some important questions at least, his defence is weak, of which more later. But he goes far beyond the confines of the white papers and raises the vital issue of democracy versus martial law, speaks of his place in history and analyses the forces, indigenous and foreign, at work in his country. This is the overriding merit of his writing. For it lifts what might have been a mere legal document to the level of an impassioned political manifesto placed before the bar of history. And, indeed, it may yet become Mr. Bhutto's testament if, as is generally believed, he is eventually sent to the gallows.

Secondly, Mr. Bhutto is nothing if not repetitive, rambling and verbose. He is also a pastmaster in ranting. But in the sheer power of expression, he has few, if any, equals among the practising politicians of the subcontinent. He is both lucid and pungent. It is impossible to remain unimpressed by the intensity of his feelings. And for a man under the shadow of the noose, he manages surprisingly well to spice his narrative with biting sarcasm (invariably at the cost of the lacklustre General Zia) and occasional humour.

"One of the fundamental realities of 1978 is that the people have realised that martial law is no law. I do not want to escape from the law. I do not want anyone to escape from the law. But I definitely want to escape from the lawlessness of martial law," is a fair example of both his style

and substance. Another is, "Pakistan has been turned into an 'Animal Farm' and its wretched, god-forsaken people into dirty animals."

However, to give a full flavour of how Mr. Bhutto can go off at a tangent, become rather petty at times and let his emotions have the better of not only his judgment but also his syntax, it is necessary to cite at least one other instance.

For some reason, Mr. Bhutto has taken umbrage to Pakistan's desire to attend non-aligned conferences as an observer. "It is not honourable", he says, "to travel on false documents, nor to enter into an international conference on a fake passport. It is not necessary to enter every place through the backdoor."

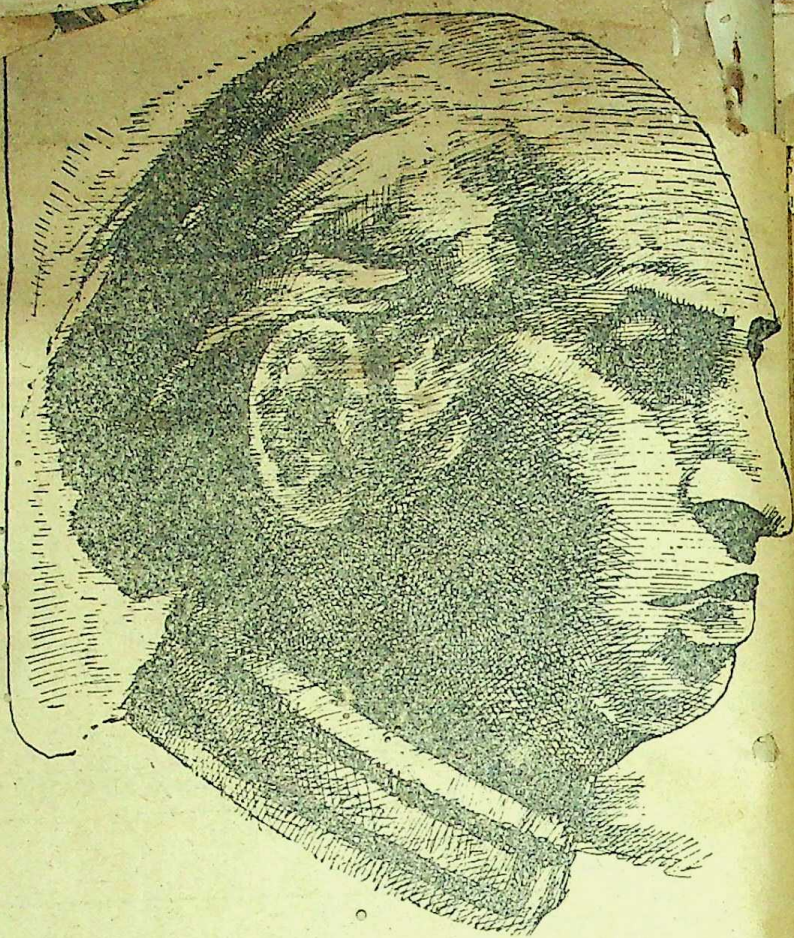
Not content with this, he takes a swipe at India's maladroitness in 1969 to gatecrash the Islamic summit at Rabat and adds, "When General Yahya Khan, the then Chief Martial Law Administrator, belatedly recognised the monstrosity of his mistake at Rabat by almost agreeing to the presence of India at the first Islamic Summit Conference, he shut himself up in the guest house. With eyes full of tears, he begged the Shahinshah of Iran, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and King Hassan of Morocco to rescue him. The other distinguished members of the Pakistan delegation chose to drown their sorrows in a night club. The ambassador of Pakistan to Morocco, Akbar Tayabji, was the host. His guests included Agha Shahi and Major General Omar, the major domo of Yahya Khan. At the night club, General Omar jokingly introduced Agha Shahi as the foreign minister of Pakistan. Shahi told General Omar not to joke like that. Seven years later, this is not the only joke which has come true."

Since all of Mr. Bhutto's troubles, including the military coup

that overthrew him, the alleged rigging of the 1977 elections in 1977, it is noteworthy that his pudification of this charge by his inability to authorship of what he knows as 'the Bhutto document', Bhutto's signatures in original in the buller, is nothing if not a blueprint for perverting the popularly in "strategic lies."

Mr. Bhutto cannot that the signatures are his. But his error how he came to sign convincing and bizarre best allowed to speak "This so-called Lanka prepared by a devotee. He came bubbling in, telling me that he 12 hours a day on it. It was a masterpiece put it aside without he was visibly hurt with emotion. He worked like a slave did not so much at. This is what he said. He is a sensitive and person. It was obvious him, perhaps hurt in the presence of made me feel worse. make some spontaneous put balm on his injured picked up his master signed it." After signing him that it was not my plan, he was there.

In spite of all this is by no means pre 1977 elections in rigged on a large-scale. other hand, Mr. Bhutto to show that despite in a few constituencies he cannot be blamed had won the election elsewhere. What ledge to his claim is tial law regime.



*Banjula*



# BHUTTO HANG

## Secret execution, pauper's funeral

Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's execution on Wednesday touched off a wave of world-wide anger, shock and dismay while there were protest demonstrations at least in Rawalpindi and Lahore in Pakistan.

Australia, where the senate passed a formal resolution, New Zealand and Indonesia were among the countries which were quick officially to deplore the dastardly deed. Britain joined them later and France disclosed that its President, Mr Giscard d'Estaing, had addressed a fresh mercy appeal to his Pakistani counterpart only hours before the hanging.

Even in countries like India, where the governments were reluctant to commit themselves, there could be no doubt about popular revulsion against General Zia-ul-Haq's action.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave joined Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr Chandra Shekhar, Mr Madhu Limaye and many others in protesting against the execution. From his sickbed in Ahmedabad, Acharya Kripalani expressed the same sentiment. The issue was raised in the Lok Sabha and several state legislatures. An anti-Pakistan demonstration in Srinagar took a violent turn.

An angrier comment came from Senator Clairbone Pell of the U.S., who compared General Zia-ul-Haq to General Idi Dada Amin of Uganda. A report from Peking stated that the Chinese leaders, who in their anxiety to save Mr Bhutto from the gallows had gone so far as to threaten to cut off their military and economic aid to Pakistan, were giving expression to their displeasure in private.

While the military regime has lost no time in hanging Mr Bhutto, the four others, sentenced to death along with him, are still alive. According to an official spokesman in Islamabad, their cases "are still under review."

**P** ISLAMABAD, April 4 (Reuters). DEMONSTRATIONS broke out in several areas of Pakistan today in protest against the hanging of the ex-premier, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In Rawalpindi, where Mr Bhutto was hanged, a demonstration of about 300 to 500 people was broken up by the police. The crowd shouted: "Death to Zia and Zia's children"—a reference to President General Zia-ul-Haq. The demonstration was at Liaquat Park, from where Mr Bhutto led the movement which ended in the overthrow of President Ayub Khan 10 years ago. Reports reaching Islamabad also spoke of trouble in Larkana and Lahore, where a bus was stoned. In Lahore, demonstrators smashed the windowpanes of cars, BBC reported. According to a BBC correspondent, the execution was in defiance of the promised 48 hours' notice of execution under which hanging is done before sunrise and not in darkness. Mr Bhutto's wife and daughter were not released from their detention to enable them to attend the funeral, BBC added. AFP adds: Among the crowd were three senior officials of Mr Bhutto's former ruling Pakistan People's Party, Mr Aziz

...would not be able to control the reaction in Pakistan, although this would take time to develop, he added. Mir Murtaza Bhutto and his younger brother, Shanawaz, 19, a student, were told at 4 a.m. (8.30 a.m. IST) that their father had died on the gallows. They said they had been promised 48 hours' notice of execution by the Pakistan authorities. Extra police moved in today to guard the Pakistan embassy in London against any protests by the Pakistani community.



A Thought

No wind se  
addresses his  
certain port.

# Pakistan in for trying time

By SUBHASH CHAKRAVARTI

## A FOUL

So the foul Pakistan's military junta has hanging over its head. True to type, Haq and his party have acted in a manner which is strong up the minister at the announced the after they had buried in his home. There will be Pakistan again. He is called a ji. Despite his n Bhutto was the towering polit Mr Jinnah and Khan. For the rest of us, the tragic occasion calls for profound sorrow. Not only has a brilliant leader been liquidated, the future of Pakistan itself has been put into jeopardy. A group of bigoted generals are in command. While they may be able, by sheer brute force, to crush protest against the criminal act, they are simply in no position to give Pakistan a viable political system. Mr Bhutto's ghost will haunt them and Pakistan.

The Pakistani army today is not what it was in 1958 when it could throw up a man of the stature of Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Indeed, it may be no exaggeration to say that the quality of the Pakistani army's leadership now is much worse than it was even on the morrow of the defeat in Bangladesh in 1971. It cannot rule the country by itself and it is in no position to live up to General Zia's promise to hold free and fair elections on November 17. That is bound to result in a massive victory for Mr Bhutto's Pakistani People's Party, no matter who leads it, and the generals, with his blood on their hands, cannot risk it. And if they renege on the promise of an early election, they would not only alienate those political parties and leaders who have gone along with them in their design to eliminate Mr Bhutto but also face dissensions within their own officer corps. By allowing itself to be used by the military junta, even the highest judiciary in the land has discredited itself and left the people in the luckless country little to look up to. Mr Bhutto had endeared himself to the people of Punjab, in every sense the heart of Pakistan, and they are not likely to forgive his hanging.

NEW DELHI, April 4: The trial of Pakistan has begun with the execution of Mr Bhutto. It portends serious consequences for the country, according to diplomatic sources.

While spontaneous outburst against the hanging of Mr Bhutto is not thought to be imminent because of large-scale arrests of members and supporters of the Pakistani Peoples Party, it may explode even on a minor provocation.

According to messages received through diplomatic sources here from Islamabad, the whole country has virtually been handed over to the patrolling army. Stricter precautions have been taken in Sind and the areas adjoining Lahore where the public reaction is reported to be explosive.

Diplomatic sources believe the martial law authorities will find it

waved out from demonstrated out embassy in Cha city fathers boycotted elections. "And wept for Mr Bhutto former resident of seasonal rain last evening.

As news of the circulating in the received with see people slugged it work of "mischievous" morning an enterprising to dispel their death," remarked was, however, only broadcasting gained credibility.

By noon a number of supplements were presses. The lang did not lag behind the walled city and an Urdu newspaper. There was no of public protest (D) organised a de side the Pakistan

hard to retain the present level of iron hold on the civilian population for a long time and the system will come under increasing strain in the coming weeks. Besides public resentment against the cussedness of Gen Zia-ul-Haq, another vital factor that may tilt the power equation is an unspecified number of army officers at various levels who preferred to keep their option open on Mr Bhutto's fate.

According to well placed sources, at a recent meeting of Pakistan's ruling top army brass while the majority preferred no opinion four generals suggested that a decision of such a gravity could be taken only by Gen Zia. In retrospect the onus for hanging Mr Bhutto rests entirely on Gen Zia and he has exposed himself to the hazards of a likely new power game within

the army well as the public indignation at large.

A report that the cases of four other condemned men continue to be under review while Mr Bhutto has been hanged heightens the feelings that Gen Zia was guided more by political consideration than the judicial verdict.

Mr Bhutto's image of a martyr can be a positive rallying point in the future of Pakistan's polity. If Gen Zia is still serious about the elections in November then he will have to take into consideration its increasing relevance.

It is much easier to banish a man, but it is very difficult to stamp out his memory. And it is thought to be more difficult in Pakistan in whose immediate neighbourhood two revolutions have taken place in recent months.

## Three killed in firing in Kashmir valley

JAMMU, April 4 (UNI): Three persons were killed and seven seriously injured in police firing in different parts of the Kashmir Valley on demonstrators protesting against the execution of Mr Bhutto.

Confirming this to UNI before rushing to Srinagar, the Inspector-general of Police, Mr D. K. Kaul, said two deaths had taken place in Srinagar city and one in Sopore town, about 50 km from Srinagar.

Mr Kaul said a battalion of the Border Security Force had been called in to guard all important offices and installations in and around Srinagar.

Armed guards opened fire when a 50,000-strong mob tried to set fire to the UN observer group's headquarters.

The J and K rifles, forming part of the army, has been called in to guard the city's strategic and vulnerable places on a request by the state government authorities.

The steel-helmeted Army was seen parading the streets and several bridges over the Jhelum.

Srinagar Club on the river bund was also attacked.

The Jamat-e-Islami headquarters and other offices were burnt at Anantnag and Baramulla. The deputy commissioner of Baramulla was injured in the Sopore incident, a government spokesman said.

Protest rallies were held in other parts of the valley, including Pulwama, Bijbehara, Kupwara, Bandipore, Uri (ordering occupied Kashmir) and Shopian.

Namaz-e-Janaza was offered at these towns as well as at Srinagar, the spokesman said.

In Baramulla, despite constant drizzle, thousands of people paraded the streets, shouting anti-Pakistan and anti-Zia slogans.

At Srinagar thousands of mourners, including women and children, beat their breasts and demanded the liberation of "Azad Kashmir."

The crowd set fire to the house of the Doordarshan Kendra director Mr S. P. Narain, located near the office. The building was completely burnt. The railing of the UN was also destroyed, the fire headquarters said.

Two police vans and a car were also burnt.

Reports from Anantnag, Baramulla and Charari-S.

Jamat-e-Islami offices and shops were targets of mob attacks.

While a ding dong battle went on near the UN office between the police and the demonstrators, a crowd stoned the accountant-general's office.

According to eye-witness reports, a few foreigners were harassed. Some of them are reported to have been beaten up by the agitated mob.

The mob attacked the Khanyar police station in the evening and ransacked Ram Munshi Bagh police station here.

A number of effigies of General Zia were burnt in various parts of the valley.

PTI adds: Muslims in Jammu held mourning prayers in memory of Mr Bhutto early this morning.

A mourning procession was also taken out.

A section of the people closed their shops in protest against his execution.

was business as with the Corporati



# A leader with a sp

RAWALPINDI, April 4 (Reuter):

**AFTER** A brilliant political career that at one point saw him hailed as saviour of his country, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto spent his last year languishing in a death cell.

During this time, the man who set with zeal and confidence in 1971 to restore his country after a disastrous war with India, presented an increasingly pitiful figure as his friends and family fought in vain against the military regime that had ousted him as premier.

In December 1978, in his first public appearance nine months after he had been sentenced to death for ordering the assassination of a political opponent, he was tired and tearful as he pleaded for his life.

At one point he choked back his sobs as he told an appeal court: "I have been very shabbily treated, very shabbily. I am not a rootless phenomenon. I have done no harm to this country."

Mr. Bhutto, who ruled Pakistan for five years before he was overthrown on July 5, 1977, was lively and eloquent for much of the time. But he also complained of dizziness and the court ordered an adjournment because of his fatigue.

## Death cell

He said he had not seen sunshine for 90 days and had been confined to a death cell measuring seven feet by 10 feet.

Throughout his turbulent career, Mr. Bhutto was such a mass of contradictions that, even in the agony of his final months, there were few things about him on which Pakistanis could agree.

As one of the supreme court judges who considered — and rejected — his appeal commented: "Whichever way we decide we are bound to split the country."

From his death cell in Lahore jail, Bhutto wrote his own epitaph: "A poet and a revolutionary — that is what I have been all these years and that is how I shall remain until the last breath is gone from my body."

But to Pakistan's military rulers, the former prime minister was a corrupt megalomaniac who would stop at nothing to strengthen his power.

After their takeover, they tried to discredit Mr Bhutto's years in power, accusing him of everything from rig-

ging elections and undermining the judiciary to evading taxes on his air-conditioners.

Although he often appeared most at ease attired in Western lounge suits serving large whiskies to Western correspondents on the spacious lawn of his home, his reputation as a man of the people caused considerable concern to the austere military regime.

Often, during his days of power, he would take to the streets, rousing crowds of up to 100,000 to feverish pitch with wild left-wing oratory.

He was also the best-known Pakistani politician abroad and appeals for clemency poured in before his death from many world leaders including Pope John Paul II.

At the same time many people inside Pakistan led by his wife Nusrat and daughter Benazir fought for his life at home. But major demonstrations were headed off by the military regime and his supporters were often clapped under house or other arrest.

## Political daring

He boycotted the trial at which his life was at stake, calling it "a handle for political exploitation."

In 1968, he showed similar daring, with more positive results, when he launched a campaign to topple the seemingly impregnable army-backed government of the late Field Marshal Ayub Khan.

Mr Bhutto's supporters stunned the nation by marching in the streets against their stern, hitherto-unquestioned leader. Field Marshal Ayub Khan, under whom Mr Bhutto had served as foreign minister, fell from power the next year.

He handed over power to the army chief, Gen Yahya Khan, under whose leadership Pakistan lost the 1971 war with India and its eastern province seceded to become Bangladesh.

Only then did Mr Bhutto's turn come. He had won army-supervised elections in West Pakistan and, in the shambles of military defeat, Gen Yahya abdicated in his favour.

Mr Bhutto, as president until 1973 and then as premier, restored national morale, wrote a new constitution and steamrollered in socialist reforms. Major industries were nationalised and the economic power of what were known as "the top 22" families was diminished. He also impounded the passports of many of the wealthy.

Even more autocratic, said his cri-

tics, were the methods he used to control divisive regional groups which threatened to tear Pakistan apart. He poured in 20,000 troops to quell unrest in Baluchistan province and banned the National Awami Party, his main opposition.

A crisis erupted in 1977 when other opponents accused his People's Party of rigging an election triumph.

This time, Mr Bhutto was at the receiving end of Pakistani street violence.

After 350 people died in weeks of rioting, there was army intervention, a coup, and martial law proclaimed by a new military strongman.

Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born on January 5, 1928, the son of Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, at Larkana, in the Sind province of British India.

The Bhutto family, which owned large estates in the province, were descendants of the Rajputs, an aristocratic warrior caste. The family embraced Islam.

Mr Bhutto has said his concern for the lot of the common man owes much to his mother who had a "feeling for the poor" which she communicated to him.

Sent to the West to study, the young Mr Bhutto proved a brilliant scholar, gaining degrees from the University of California in Berkeley and Oxford.

In 1952 and 1953 he lectured in international law at Southampton University in southern England. He was also admitted to the bar at London's Lincoln's Inn, enabling him to practise as a barrister.

He returned home soon afterwards to teach constitutional law at the Sind Muslim College and to practise law privately for five years.

During this period he came to know Pakistan's military officers who staged a bloodless coup in 1958. According to some reports the coup plot was actually hatched on his family estates where some of the officers would come for the game shooting which was also one of Mr Bhutto's hobbies.

When Field Marshal Ayub Khan, then still a general, took over the government in 1958, he invited Mr Bhutto to join the cabinet as minister of commerce.

Between then and 1963 Mr Bhutto held several portfolios — including national reconstruction and information, Kashmir affairs, minority affairs and fuel, power and natural resources.

It was a period in which the country's economy, particularly in West

Prime Minister's

October 1977.

Mr Bhutto was arrested 17 months of Iran during his visit

ago and charged with ordering a 1974 ambush on the politician, Mr Ahmed Raza Kasuri. Mr Kasuri, a vocal critic of Mr Bhutto, escaped but his father, Nawab Mohammed Khan, was fatally wounded. He was tried and sentenced to death last March.

To many Pakistanis, Mr Bhutto remained a source of inspiration. An urbane landed aristocrat, he was the first Pakistani politician to speak directly to peasants and factory workers, making them feel that through him they had a choice government.

vi away, and that neighbouring India would take advantage of the situation to try to bring about a split.

He continued to demand a return to civilian rule, roundly criticising the military rulers. As tension rose in the east, where guerrillas were harassing Pakistani soldiers, and the danger of Indian intervention loomed, Mr Bhutto, in November, 1971, led a Pakistani government mission to Peking aimed at ensuring China's backing for a united Pakistan.

On December 8, several days after India marched to support East Bengali nationalist guerrillas, Gen Yahya





# -hour execu

Conti

of the newspaper  
succeeded.  
came the official  
e ministry of the  
that "the Presid  
he mercy petition  
d procedure" and  
had been hanged

hutto went to the  
minute appeals  
in several heads  
ents. Among cou  
a minute messag  
Union, Sweden,  
mirates and repor  
am from the  
It Vallery Giscar  
ived here yesterd

ig the past few  
asking for elemen  
had an receive  
s in the world.

## BETRAYAL BY

his friends, Mr B  
of a "betrayal"  
picked over the  
generals for the  
of Staff.  
Gen. Zia-ul-Ha

## Last wo

LAMABAD, Ap  
Lord help me  
ocent," Mr Bh  
foot of the p  
ore he was h  
rning, the U  
wa-i-Waqt, rep  
ay.

Mr Bhutto wal  
h his escort, hi  
ind his back.  
ground and hi  
l he reached  
gallows, the

According to N  
Bhutto wrote  
ch he was m  
ore he "climb  
he gallows. T  
ater-signed by  
NI reports:  
tto's last acts  
Pakistan Pe  
to start any  
in, Mr Mumta  
today.

sked whether  
the PPP woul  
violence, the  
of Bhutto's  
give orders"  
us against s

Mr Mumtaz A  
during their  
he prison on  
tto told him  
going to spa  
I don't wa

## Pledge by Z

LAMABAD,  
Pakistani hea  
I-Haq, by re  
Mr Bhutto  
in July 197  
sir" on Mr  
ers said her  
in, Zia was p  
o Mr Bhutto  
to the rank  
staff over the  
content.



THE former Pakistan premier, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, once one of the world's major statesmen, was hanged like a common criminal today and buried within hours after a virtual pauper's funeral.

The hanging and burial were carried out with sharp military precision by the regime of President Zia-ul-Haq, who led the army coup which toppled Mr Bhutto in 1977.

Mr Bhutto, 51, was taken to the gallows in Rawalpindi's century-old district prison at the unusually early hour of 2 a.m. (local). Most executions are carried out just before dawn.

But the early hour was chosen so that his body could be flown hundreds of kilometres to the south and buried safely near his farm house in Naudero in Sind province before most people could realise what had happened.

It was a sad end for the debonair figure whose oratory had dazzled audiences at home and at international forums abroad. After

12 months in the death cell where he was sent after conviction on charges of ordering the murder of an opponent, Mr Bhutto was reduced to a virtual skeleton.

The final disappearance of Mr Bhutto from the political scene could bring immediate problems for the country's army rulers.

Bhutto supporters predicted a storm of protest if the execution was carried out — a view shared by Mr Bhutto himself.

In a "last testament" written in his death cell months ago, Mr Bhutto said: "If I am assassinated on the gallows... there will be turmoil and turbulence, conflict and conflagration".

There was stunned initial reaction today as the news spread quickly throughout Pakistan. Some cars were stoned in Lahore, but the country appeared generally calm.

Foreign diplomats said it was likely to take some time before anti-government demonstrations could be organised by Bhutto followers in Sind, Karachi, Lahore and the northwest.

The execution went ahead despite appeals from world leaders for clemency. Many countries today expressed shock and sorrow at the hanging.

Newspapers brought out special editions to describe Mr Bhutto's last hours.

They said he was given a bath, allowed to shave off several weeks' growth of straggly grey beard and then told to sign his will. He was led to the gallows with his hands bound, escorted there by prison officials, a senior army officer and a magistrate.

The execution was carried out by Tara Masih, a Christian Pakistani who is the government's main hangman. He was paid Rs. 25.

Mr Bhutto was buried at 10.30 a.m. at a small funeral attended by two uncles and some local officials. Pakistan radio announced the execution 30

minutes after the burial — nine hours after the event.

Mr Bhutto's wife Nusrat, and daughter Benazir could not attend because they are under house arrest at a police compound outside Rawalpindi.

Only a handful of relatives and friends attended the burial, which took place, as the former premier and his family had requested, in the family graveyard called Garhi Khuda Bakhsh, 13 km. from Larkana town in upper Sind, in the right bank of the Indus river.

Present were the two uncles, Sardar Nabi Baksh Bhutto and Sardar Pir Baksh Bhutto, his first wife Amir Begum, some friends and a number of prominent villagers. They stood, heads bowed, as prayers were said.

Mr Bhutto was buried near his father the Late Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, once a protégé of the erstwhile British

EDIT: A foul deed—page 6  
Obituary on page 9

fish rulers, in the cemetery he used to visit every 1d festival to say prayers for his dead parents and relatives.

The execution drew down the final curtain on the 18-month legal battle Mr Bhutto had fought to save his life.

First indication that the authorities were planning to go ahead with the execution came early last night when 27 army lorries, full of soldiers, arrived at Rawalpindi jail.

Two Pakistan journalists who watched the comings and goings were arrested, but later released.

At 4.30 a.m. everything appeared quiet at the prison where the authorities refused to confirm the execution. Two local newspapers published news of execution without waiting for confirmation. Later faced with conflicting reports, they tried to halt distribution.

Continued on page 7 column 4

## -hour execu

Continu

of the newspapers succeeded. came the official com- ministry of the in- that "the Presiden- d procedure" and had been hanged a

hutto went to the ga- minute appeals to in several heads of ents. Among counti- minute messages Union, Sweden, il- mirates and reported am from the Fre- it Valery Giscard- ived here yesterday.

g the past few mo- asking for clemency had an received from most is in the world.

### BETRAYAL BY ZIA

his friends, Mr Bhutto was the of a "betrayal" by the man- picked over the head of 13 generals for the post of Army of Staff.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, it was a

## Last words

LAMABAD, April 4 (AFP): "A Lord help me for 1 am ocent," Mr Bhutto said at foot of the gallows just ore he was hanged this rning, the Urdu daily, wa-i-Waqt, reported here ay.

Mr Bhutto walked slowly h his escort, his hands tied ind his back, his eyes on ground and his lips closed l he reached the foot of gallows, the newspaper

ecording to Nawa-i-Waqt, Bhutto wrote a long will ch he was made to sign ore he "climbed the steps he gallows. The will was ter-signed by a magistrate. NI reports: One of Mr tto's last acts was to order Pakistan People's Party to start any agitation, his in, Mr Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, today.

sked whether the family the PPP would issue a call violence, the cousin said of Bhutto's last acts was ive orders" strictly bind- us against starting agita-

Mr Mumtaz Ali Bhutto said during their last meeting he prison on Sunday, Mr tto told him, "They are going to spare me in any I don't want any blood-

## Pledge broken by Zia

LAMABAD, April 4 (AFP): Pakistani head of state, Gen. i-Haq, by refusing clemency Mr Bhutto broke a pledge in July 1977 "not to touch ir" on Mr Bhutto's head, vers said here today.

in, Zia was personally indebt- o Mr Bhutto for his promo- to the rank of chief of gene- staff over the heads ine t conten.

ly applied to troublemakers u- martial law, also certainly ed to cooling the fervour militants, said observers.

Reuter adds:

Mr Bhutto ruled Pakistan, President then as Premier, years before being overthro July 5, 1977. He succeeded Yahya Khan, under nom- lost the 1971 war with Ind then introduced a wide rang- ealist reforms.

### FIERY SPEECHES

Although frequently describ- arrogant autocrat by his enemies, his fiery left-wing won him huge following an masses.

Mr Bhutto was educated a and American universities adoption of western manner concern among conservative politicians.

The army coup which ousted hailing leader, met Mr Narayan in the came amidst street violence whymorning and told him "by your face followed allegations that Mr Bhutto look much better now. How Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) are you feeling?"

After his downfall, Mr Bhutto main ach- hoon (I am well now)." charged with complicity in a plot. Mr Thomas Abraham, his secre- murder a minor political oppon- tary, said Mr Narayan was "very weak and has to gain a lot of strength."

Mr Ahmed Raza Kasuri. Mr Kasuri escaped when his was fired on in October, 1974, his father died in the ambush.

### LONGEST TRIAL

The murder trial that followed was the longest in Pakistan's history. Mr Bhutto was convicted and sentenced to hang by the Lahore high court in March 1978, and the sentence was later upheld by the Supreme Court.

In an impassioned appeal to the Supreme Court, Mr Bhutto denounced his trial as a grotesque injustice.

"I have been shabbily treated, very shabbily", Mr Bhutto told the court. "I am not a rootless phenomenon. I have done no harm to this country".

His death sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court by a four-to-three margin, although one of the judges said: "Whichever way we decide, we are bound to split the country".

All subsequent legal appeals failed and Gen. Zia said he would abide by the Supreme Court decision, despite the calls for clemency from around the world.

Mr Bhutto refused to ask for mercy himself, saying this would imply guilt which did not exist, and forbade members of his family from doing so.

In the testament written in his death cell, Mr Bhutto bitterly criticised Gen. Zia, whom he appointed armed forces chief of staff before the coup.

"I was not born to whither away in a death cell and to mount the gallows to fulfil the vindictive lust of an ungrateful and treacherous man", Mr Bhutto said.

Providing his own epitaph, he wrote: "A poet and a revolutionary—that is what I have been all these years and that is how I shall remain until the last breath is gone from my body."

MILITARY PRE

## References in Lok Sabha

•By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, April 4: As soon as the Lok Sabha met this morning, several opposition members got up to say that the House should take note of Mr Z. A. Bhutto's execution.

Raising his voice above the cacophony of voices, the leader of the opposition, Mr C. M. Stephen, drew the Speaker's attention to the fact that Mr Bhutto "died this morning through suffocation due to hanging".

The execution had produced sorrow in this country and Mr Stephen wanted obituary references to be made in the House as was done in such cases.

The Speaker's remark that no official confirmation of the news was yet available drew sharp protests from the opposition members. Mr Saugata Roy pointed out that All-India Radio had already broadcast the news. Several other members asked how AFR could put out the news unless it had been confirmed.

But the Speaker went ahead with question hour.



# Unfortunate, say Indian leaders

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, April 4.

THE news of Mr Bhutto's hanging was received with universal regret by all shades of political opinion as unfortunate and tragic.

Almost all of them felt that the military rulers in Pakistan could not be depended upon to allow a free judicial access and the political circumstances were also such that Mr Bhutto's existence would have upset a threat to their rule.

While the government thought it would not want to be misunderstood as interfering in the affairs of the neighbouring countries, many leaders of the ruling party shared with others the view that Mr Bhutto's life should have been spared.

Mr Chandra Shekhar, Janata president, said he was basically against capital punishment and he regretted that Pakistan's military rulers preferred to ignore appeals by dignitaries all over the world to save the life of Mr Bhutto.

He thought such tendencies on the part of the Pakistan rulers might have disastrous consequences and hoped that even at this stage saner elements would assert. He offered his condolences to the bereaved family.

Like Mr Chandra Shekhar several

others expressed doubt if the latest act of the military rulers in Pakistan would improve the prospects of restoration of democracy in the neighbouring countries. In any event, the people of India, they noted, wanted stability and strengthening of democracy in Pakistan to promote better relations between the two countries.

Mrs Indira Gandhi expressed shock and said the Pakistan president had

Details of reaction—page 10

acted in defiance of world opinion. "It is obvious that Mr Bhutto became a victim of conspiracy by certain vested interests within and outside Pakistan", add PTI and UNI.

Mrs Gandhi said: "I am shocked to learn of Mr Bhutto's execution. The president of Pakistan has acted in defiance of world opinion. Almost all

Continued on page 7 column 3

## Party to ask for Raj Narain's explanation

By Our Special Correspondent

THE executive of the Janata parliamentary party decided this evening to call for an explanation from Mr Raj Narain for some of his statements after receiving details from the member who had briefly referred to them in a letter to the JPP secretary.

The member, Mr Kanwar Lal Gupta, had in his letter to secretary, Dr. Murl Manohar Joshi, referred to various statements by the former health minister publicly attacking the Prime Minister and the government.

Unrelated to the executive decision was a move by a sizable section of party MPs demanding the expulsion of Mr Raj Narain for anti-party activities. The demand was contained in a memorandum identical copies of which have been submitted to the Prime Minister and the party president.

The bulk of the 102 signatories to the memorandum comes the former Jana Sangh. But there are also several others including Mr Ram Dhun, Mr Arjun Singh Bhaduria, Mr Kar-lash Prakash, Dr. M. M. Sidhu, Mr Durga Chand, Mr Ramanand Tiwari, Mr Ranjit Singh and Mr R. L. Kureel.

At the JPP executive meeting which lasted an hour both Mr Morarji Desai and Mr Jagjivan Ram spoke of the need for taking appropriate action to curb indiscipline though neither of them specified any person or objectionable statement.

The meeting had been called to discuss Mr Gupta's letter in which he had drawn attention to the statements by Mr Raj Narain, Mr Madhve Limaye, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Biju Patnaik. According to Mr Gupta, some of these statements have serious consequences causing

Continued on page 7 coln



# Distorting The Simla Accord

## A Deliberate Attempt By Pakistan

By GIRILAL JAIN

IN an angry response to my article "Zia Provokes India" (August 10), the Pakistan ambassador in New Delhi, Mr Abdul Sattar, has recalled one provision of the Simla agreement of 1972 which says that "the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir, and the resumption of diplomatic relations" (August 24).

### PRESSURE

If this were all, Islamabad would be within its rights to insist that New Delhi engage in such discussions and to use all forums available to it to state its case, in order to bring pressure to bear on India. But this is not the case. The same Simla agreement also stipulates "that the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them." In spirit if not in letter it specifically excludes any attempt by either side to involve a third party or parties in any Indo-Pakistan problem with the explicit consent of the other.

And this, too, is not the end of the matter. As the Pakistani military rulers and their spokesmen must know, the Simla accord, unlike the Tashkent agreement, did not provide for restoration of the *status quo ante* on the basis of the cease-fire line in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. Instead it said:

"In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat of the use of force in violation of this line."

The implication of this provision in the Simla agreement should be fairly obvious to General Zia-ul-Haq and his advisers in Islamabad. While this provision did not require Pakistan formally to abandon its "recognised position," it divided the state on a new basis—the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971—and thus in effect rendered infructuous not only the previous cease-fire line arranged under U.N. auspices and the U.N. resolutions on the issue but also Pakistan's case based on them.

Surely the reference to "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir" in the subsequent and last paragraph of the Simla agreement has to be read and interpreted in the context of the twin commitments by Pakistan to accept and respect the *de facto* division of the state on a new basis and to seek resolution of its differences with this country through bilateral discussions. It is also notable that the agreement provides for "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir" and not "a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute" and that it makes no reference to the relevant U.N. resolutions. A general reference

to the U.N. charter is a different proposition altogether.

In plain terms, the Simla agreement meant acceptance by both governments of the partition of the state along the line of control as the basis of "a final settlement" and the acknowledgement by them that it was futile and, indeed, dangerous for them to hark back to the past when India laid claim to the entire state including Hunza and Gilgit and Pakistan insisted on an internationally supervised plebiscite. The very first clause in the agreement, though phrased in general terms, underscores the validity of this interpretation that the accord required New Delhi and Islamabad to make a break with the past.

In terms of this agreement, however interpreted, Pakistan acknowledged that the so-called Azad Kashmir government was a fictitious entity for whose conduct it was in a position to accept full responsibility. But this fiction had to be ended if the state was to be formally divided between India and Pakistan and the line of control converted into an international border. This was an obstacle in the path of "a final settlement" which only Pakistan could remove.

### AGREEMENT

It will be speculation to say whether or not an agreement committing Mr Bhutto to do away with the fiction of "Azad" Kashmir was reached at the Simla summit between him and Mrs Gandhi. As India's Minister for External Affairs, during the Janata rule, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee spoke of a secret agreement between them. But he never disclosed its nature or its contents. He did not say whether it provided for absorption of "Azad" Kashmir into Pakistan.

But it is well known that in 1973 and 1974 Mr Bhutto made an attempt to absorb the state's territories in question into Pakistan and Mrs Gandhi did not object to it. To begin with, in March 1973 he redesignated the posts of political agents in Gilgit, Baltistan and Diamir as deputy commissioners and sub-divisional officers in order to bring these areas at par with the administrative set-up in the rest of Pakistan. Towards the end of the year the President of "Azad" Kashmir promulgated, clearly at Mr Bhutto's instance, an ordinance which provided for severe punishments for activities "prejudicial to the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan." This ordinance had followed Mr Bhutto's visit to the Pakistan-occupied part of the state in November when he made it known that he would like it to become a province of Pakistan.

This was followed by a move to set up an "Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council" to be presided over by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The then Pakistan Law Minister, Mr Pirzada, had said: The Kashmir leaders have requested that this council should be headed by no less a person than the Prime Minister of Pakistan and that it should include five of his nominees who should be ministers or members of Parliament of Pakistan. The Council will frame policy and will have all powers, legislative and executive, to deal with subjects which are reserved exclusively for the government of Pakistan under the responsibility assumed by it under the UNCIP re-

solutions nor for the Azad Kashmir legislative assembly.

This should help establish beyond doubt that Mr Bhutto was serious. But he could not see the plan through because he ran into serious opposition from all political parties other than his own. They called it a sell-out to India. The revival of the anti-Ahmediya agitation by Jamaat-e-Islami in 1974 further weakened his position. As it happened, Mrs Gandhi's authority also came under serious challenge in 1974 when Mr Jayaprakash Narayan launched his "total revolution". So shrewd a leader as Mr Bhutto could not fail to draw the conclusion that it was no longer obligatory for him to incorporate "Azad" Kashmir into Pakistan and thus pave the way for "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir." Instead, using the Indian underground nuclear test as a pretext he launched Pakistan on a nuclear weapons programme.

Mrs Gandhi was criticised for the Simla agreement in 1972 itself on the ground that she should have insisted on a final settlement of the Kashmir issue. The criticism was superficial because Mr Bhutto would not have agreed to an explicit deal and if he had, he might not have survived in office to implement it. Mrs Gandhi secured the best agreement she could in the circumstances which required her to help Mr Bhutto consolidate his position.

It is in any case futile to debate this issue. The pertinent points is that General Zia-ul-Haq either believes the circumstances have changed in his favour or he thinks he can revive the Kashmir problem to his advantage. Either way we are back to the pre-1971 position as far as Pakistan's policy is concerned.

### REASON

Earlier this year India had reason to be concerned over Pakistan's fragility—the regime is highly unpopular and the cultural-linguistic minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the NWFP are deeply aggrieved—in view of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. New Delhi was also not wholly unjustified in entertaining the hope that Islamabad would co-operate with it in working out a regional approach to this problem. But Gen. Zia has chosen to dash this hope. He has not only gone in for the Islamic option but also decided to embarras India to the extent he can. In 1978-79 he took the stand that the communal riots in Allahabad and Jamshedpur were India's internal affairs. This time he has summoned his ambassador in New Delhi to discuss the recent troubles in our country.

But despite the provocations, New Delhi cannot afford to react angrily. It has a stake in Pakistan's territorial integrity because the establishment of a Soviet-dominated regime on the Indian subcontinent would be in India's long-term national interest. But it has to abandon the hope of winning Pakistan's co-operation in limiting super-power interference in the region and it has to be prepared to face such difficulties as General Zia may choose to create for it either out of over-confidence or desperation or both.



# Gen. Zia's Stratagem

It will be some time before the full implications of General Zia-ul-Haq's plans to expand the already oversized Pakistani army unfold themselves. But it is clear beyond doubt that his talk of raising a massive Chinese-type "People's Army" in which the present 450,000-strong armed forces would have a "specialised role" (whatever it might mean) is nothing but a smokescreen for his real intentions. The present Pakistani army, with its Sandhurst syndrome and insatiable appetite for political power, is not only the sole power base of the military junta, headed by Gen. Zia; it is also perhaps the only instrument left in Pakistan to preserve its fragile unity. He is unlikely to do anything therefore that might undermine the position of the army in its present form or create within it disaffection against him. He might have persuaded himself to take such a grave risk and to organise in the name of a people's army a praetorian guard for himself—after all the late Mr Bhutto had created the now disbanded Federal Security Force for precisely the same purpose—if the General were facing opposition from his peers within the army. But that is not so. On the contrary, last year he skilfully eased out or conciliated his potential rivals and appointed lieutenant-generals of his own choice as Corps Commanders. It is no mere coincidence that the Multan-based Corps, which controls the armoured division at Kharian, is headed by a close relative of Gen. Zia, Lt. Gen. Rahim-ud-Din Khan. In his bid to give accelerated promotion to his son-in-law, the Chief Martial Law Administrator did have some trouble with the Air Chief. But it was smoothed over soon and Gen. Zia placated the Air and Navy chiefs further by raising their ranks at the same time when he made Lt. Gen. Iqbal and Lt. Gen. Sawar Khan full, four-star Generals.

Moreover, Gen. Zia is not such a fool as to overlook the possibility that despite the most careful screening of the recruits he might order, a Chinese-type people's army might easily be infiltrated by Mr Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party and this can spell his doom. Indeed, by a remarkable coincidence, Gen. Zia ordered the extermination from Punjab of Mr Bhutto's widow and daughter on the very day he made his plan to expand the army public. It is clear therefore that the so-called plan for a massive people's army is but a camouflage for some other sinister designs that are bound to become apparent before long. In the first place, what he is planning is a straightforward expansion of the armed forces and its re-equipment with latest weaponry. The key to this lies in his statement that while he would make the present army a part of the Chinese-style force, he would also raise a "smaller and far better standing military force than at present." What a dissimulation this is for simply adding more divisions to the existing army and getting for it better tanks, artillery guns, missiles and so on! And what a mockery it makes of the Pakistani propaganda ploy about asking the military commanders of the two sides to sit down to decide the levels of armed forces that the two countries should maintain.

Since there has been a 70 per cent increase in Pakistan's armed forces during the nine years after the Bangladesh war, a further substantial expansion cannot but be a cause for grave concern to this country. But what makes Gen. Zia's latest plans vastly more ominous is that the talk of a people's army may well be a cover for the kind of formations that General Akhtar Husain Malik poured into Jammu and Kashmir in 1965 under "Operation Gibraltar". The recent diabolical deeds of anti-national and pro-Pakistani elements in the valley could well have delighted the Pakistani military junta. The present sentiment towards this country and Mrs Gandhi's government is best illustrated by the campaign of hatred and calumny that the foreign office in Islamabad and the rigidly-controlled Pakistani media have unleashed on the subject of the communal riots in Moradabad and some other Indian cities. When during the Janata regime much worse communal riots occurred at Aligarh and Jamshedpur Gen. Zia had refused to comment on these on the sensible ground that this would amount to interference in India's internal affairs. Why is there a 180-degree change in policy now and a brazen attempt by the Zia regime deliberately to add fuel to the fire the government and people of this country are trying their best to localise and put out?

Apologists of Gen. Zia, of whom there is no dearth in this country, may object that the foregoing is, perhaps too harsh an assessment of the intentions of the military.

Inc

INDO-PAK never very times, have deteriorating dialogue between result of a nu The recent Pakistan of a by Sikh extre officialdom The Union M.M.K. Wal clearly reveal stirring the s The Pakista taken to In Sporadic cl Kashmir's s between troops.

America failure of stations to squadrons cluded th empty st nuclear fa this "infor who, of co foreign Yakub K ible and to try demands weaponr that Pak nuclear he made ing tensi such att sion" to "retalia reported accused 64 kilo extensi Pakista the gla der. M Indian stay.

'Na

As ado- es an pite p moun gather that wear has ever gres gent thes mili on arn ad ing like we mo rec pu su th



# Indo-Pakistan-U.S. Ties

## A Miasma Of Apprehension

By A.S. ABRAHAM

Marks  
Allotted  
to Each  
question

**I**NDO-PAKISTANI relations, never very cordial at the best of times, have in recent weeks been deteriorating precipitously. The peace dialogue between them has stalled as a result of a number of developments. The recent, second in hijacking of Pakistan of an Indian Airlines plane by Sikh extremists showed Pakistani officialdom in a complicitous light. The Union home secretary, Mr M.M.K. Wali, has spoken of evidence clearly revealing a Pakistani hand in stirring the secessionist pot in Punjab. The Pakistani media appear to have taken to India-bashing in a big way. Sporadic clashes have taken place in Kashmir's snow-bound border regions between Indian and Pakistani troops.

American intelligence, going by the failure of U.S. satellite tracking stations to detect two Indian Air Force squadrons, recently and falsely concluded that this could mean a pre-emptive strike by India on Pakistan's nuclear facility at Kahuta and passed this "information" on to the Pakistanis who, of course, bristled. The Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Sahebzada Yakub Khan, seized on this irresponsible and erroneous piece of deduction to try and justify his country's demands for an array of sophisticated weaponry from the U.S. on the ground that Pakistan needed to "defend" its nuclear installations. At the same time, he made his own contribution to raising tensions by warning India that any such attack would be "naked aggression" to the Pakistanis who would "retaliate". Pakistani officials, as reported in *The Washington Post*, have accused Indian troops of encroaching 64 kilometres across an "unofficial extension" of the line of control in Pakistan running northeast through the glacial region to the Chinese border. Moreover, these officials alleged, Indian troops had dug in for a long stay.

### 'Naked Aggression'

As a spillover from plummeting Indo-Pakistani relations, Indo-U.S. ties are also under growing strain. Despite professed American concern over mounting evidence, much of it gathered by Americans themselves, that Pakistan is devising nuclear weapons, the Reagan administration has been steadfastly shooting down every attempt by American congressmen like Senator Alan Cranston, genuinely anxious about the spread of these weapons, to make American military and economic aid conditional on Pakistan abandoning its nuclear arms programme. The Reagan administration's case is that showering such manna on Islamabad is more likely to inhibit its pursuit of nuclear weapons than withholding it. Yet the more assistance the Pakistanis have received, the more avidly they have pursued their nuclear course since such singlemindedness can only bring them yet more assistance.

Indo-U.S. relations were not helped by the dubious story in the Pakistani Urdu daily, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, from its Washington correspondent who, citing sources close to the White House, said that President Reagan had written to President Zia offering Pakistan a NATO-style U.S. "nuclear umbrella" as well as an extension of arms and economic aid beyond 1987, when the current \$ 3.2 billion five-year agree-

ment runs out. While, according to an external affairs ministry spokesman, a report from the Indian mission in Washington confirms that President Reagan did write to President Zia, the contents of the letter are not known. The U.S. embassy in New Delhi, however, has denied that Mr Reagan offered Pakistan a nuclear umbrella and said that Pakistan had not asked for one either. The episode illustrates the miasma of apprehension enveloping Indo-Pakistani and Indo-American relations.

India's misgivings seem to have been partly confirmed by the recent statement of the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad, Mr Deane Hinton, reassuring Pakistan that America would come to its aid should India attack at New Delhi has reacted with justifiable indignation, describing the implicit allegation against it as appearing to be designed "to justify in advance the supply of more arms, including sophisticated weapons like surveillance aircraft (Hawkeyes) to Pakistan". In stronger language than it has used about the U.S. for the years, the Indian government dismissed Mr Hinton's "attempt to project India as an aggressor" as "motivated and reprehensible".

### India's Misgivings

It should be clear that even if the Reagan administration wanted to hinder Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear weaponry, it couldn't, for the simple reason that it has little or no leverage with Islamabad on this question. Because of the Indo-U.S. agreement on Tarapur, the Americans have been able, when they have been so inclined, to put the screws on New Delhi. Since no such formal nuclear agreement, as far as is known, exists between Pakistan and the U.S., there is little the latter can do to modify the former's nuclear arms policy. Pakistan continues to get clandestinely what it cannot get legitimately. Only recently, three Pakistani businessmen were arrested in Houston, Texas, for allegedly falsifying customs declarations to export 50 nuclear triggering devices to the university of Islamabad.

The leverage with Pakistan that the U.S. does have concerns the supply of sophisticated conventional weaponry. Were it to be difficult about this, the Pakistanis would have to choose between going nuclear (and so not getting American conventional arms aid) and plumping for generous U.S. military aid (in return for giving up their nuclear ambitions). As things are, the Pakistanis have the best of both worlds, getting all the U.S. arms they want while yet secretly developing their nuclear options. This is because, as the Reagan administration appears to see it, the political costs to the U.S. of keeping the Pakistanis happy and armed to the teeth outweighs the cost to it of their eventually going nuclear. Why should the U.S. strive to keep Pakistan from going nuclear when this could antagonise a country that, in U.S. eyes, has a crucial role to play in the American "strategic consensus" designed to secure U.S. interests?

India has to frame its security policies having clearly understood that it will not be able to deflect the U.S. one whit from the path of reinforcing Pakistani military power in order to advance U.S. interests. This is not to say that the U.S. is anti-India, in

the sense that its policy is deliberately designed to frustrate Indian interests. The U.S. is pro-Pakistan all right, of that there can be no doubt. If in the course of helping Pakistan may fulfil the role the U.S. has assigned it, Indian interests are affected, then New Delhi has to learn to operate within that constraining reality.

Nor can India hope to counter growing U.S. backing for Pakistan either by drawing closer to Russia than it has done already or by becoming more pro-American. Neither approach would be domestically feasible in view of the country's commitment to non-alignment, which remains the bedrock of its foreign policy. If the U.S. is not anti-India by virtue of being pro-Pakistan, India is not anti-American by virtue of the much closer relationship it has with the Soviets, as compared to its ties with the U.S. So while the U.S. cannot ever hope to make India part of any "strategic consensus" it can also be quite certain that India will not join any alliance rivalling one built round the U.S. India, in other words, has chosen to be odd man out, and must be prepared to pay the price of doing so.

Pakistan, of course, can be trusted to use the advantages it secures from its *de facto* tie-up with U.S. to embarrass India. Domestic crises like Punjab, Assam or widespread communal rioting are grist to Pakistan's diplomatic mills and it will not lose any opportunity, especially in forums like the Islamic conference organisation from which India is excluded, to put India on the spot. It cannot be trusted, too, to extract all it can from the U.S., as much on the ground that it needs such assistance to help to advance U.S. interests as to enable it to match if not surpass India's strength and influence.

### US Stake

Finally, the U.S. stake in Pakistan has much less to do with the Afghanistan issue than with preventing destabilisation in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia where a string of conservative, pro-western Sheikdoms help to buttress U.S. and western interests. Pakistan is a useful conduit for supplying the Afghan Mujahideen with the wherewithal to tie the Russians down in Afghanistan. But Afghanistan is only one means of applying indirect U.S. pressure on the Soviets, and it is not the most important means either. In fact, to the extent the presence of some two million or more Afghan refugees in Pakistan creates problems for that country, American policy on Afghanistan entails some grave risks.

For Pakistan under General Zia already has its plate more than full of problems, with insurgent provinces in Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier, a disaffected, politically conscious middle-class thirsting for democracy, and a regime that has yet to acquire legitimacy despite its populist Islamicisation policies. The Americans have tried to distinguish between supporting Pakistan and backing the current regime, but to those bitterly opposed to the Zia regime, it is a distinction without a difference. To the extent the Americans are willy-nilly hitching their wagon to General Zia's star (as they once did in Iran to the Shah's), they are linking their strategic fortunes to that star being able to sustain its brilliance indefinitely.

that their military aid to Pakistan is the product of a number of developments for us to raise this question if the U.S. policy of extending massive support to Africa) and West Asia (against Israel). U.S. power cannot avoid a similar fate for Pakistan.



1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60  
 61  
 62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74  
 75  
 76  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88  
 89  
 90  
 91  
 92  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98  
 99  
 100  
 101  
 102  
 103  
 104  
 105  
 106  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110  
 111  
 112  
 113  
 114  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178  
 179  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183  
 184  
 185  
 186  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194  
 195  
 196  
 197  
 198  
 199  
 200  
 201  
 202  
 203  
 204  
 205  
 206  
 207  
 208  
 209  
 210  
 211  
 212  
 213  
 214  
 215  
 216  
 217  
 218  
 219  
 220  
 221  
 222  
 223  
 224  
 225  
 226  
 227  
 228  
 229  
 230  
 231  
 232  
 233  
 234  
 235  
 236  
 237  
 238  
 239  
 240  
 241  
 242  
 243  
 244  
 245  
 246  
 247  
 248  
 249  
 250  
 251  
 252  
 253  
 254  
 255  
 256  
 257  
 258  
 259  
 260  
 261  
 262  
 263  
 264  
 265  
 266  
 267  
 268  
 269  
 270  
 271  
 272  
 273  
 274  
 275  
 276  
 277  
 278  
 279  
 280  
 281  
 282  
 283  
 284  
 285  
 286  
 287  
 288  
 289  
 290  
 291  
 292  
 293  
 294  
 295  
 296  
 297  
 298  
 299  
 300  
 301  
 302  
 303  
 304  
 305  
 306  
 307  
 308  
 309  
 310  
 311  
 312  
 313  
 314  
 315  
 316  
 317  
 318  
 319  
 320  
 321  
 322  
 323  
 324  
 325  
 326  
 327  
 328  
 329  
 330  
 331  
 332  
 333  
 334  
 335  
 336  
 337  
 338  
 339  
 340  
 341  
 342  
 343  
 344  
 345  
 346  
 347  
 348  
 349  
 350  
 351  
 352  
 353  
 354  
 355  
 356  
 357  
 358  
 359  
 360  
 361  
 362  
 363  
 364  
 365  
 366  
 367  
 368  
 369  
 370  
 371  
 372  
 373  
 374  
 375  
 376  
 377  
 378  
 379  
 380  
 381  
 382  
 383  
 384  
 385  
 386  
 387  
 388  
 389  
 390  
 391  
 392  
 393  
 394  
 395  
 396  
 397  
 398  
 399  
 400  
 401  
 402  
 403  
 404  
 405  
 406  
 407  
 408  
 409  
 410  
 411  
 412  
 413  
 414  
 415  
 416  
 417  
 418  
 419  
 420  
 421  
 422  
 423  
 424  
 425  
 426  
 427  
 428  
 429  
 430  
 431  
 432  
 433  
 434  
 435  
 436  
 437  
 438  
 439  
 440  
 441  
 442  
 443  
 444  
 445  
 446  
 447  
 448  
 449  
 450  
 451  
 452  
 453  
 454  
 455  
 456  
 457  
 458  
 459  
 460  
 461  
 462  
 463  
 464  
 465  
 466  
 467  
 468  
 469  
 470  
 471  
 472  
 473  
 474  
 475  
 476  
 477  
 478  
 479  
 480  
 481  
 482  
 483  
 484  
 485  
 486  
 487  
 488  
 489  
 490  
 491  
 492  
 493  
 494  
 495  
 496  
 497  
 498  
 499  
 500  
 501  
 502  
 503  
 504  
 505  
 506  
 507  
 508  
 509  
 510  
 511  
 512  
 513  
 514  
 515  
 516  
 517  
 518  
 519  
 520  
 521  
 522  
 523  
 524  
 525



# Defining Pakistan's Status

## A Buffer Or A Frontline State

By GIRILAL JAIN

**B**OTH the United States and India have spelt out their opening positions for the forthcoming discussions between President Reagan and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and their aides. These run along familiar lines and cannot therefore provide the basis for a significantly higher level of political understanding between the two countries.

For the United States, the central issue for the forthcoming talks is the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. The deputy assistant secretary for South Asia in the State Department, Mr Robert Peck, has taken care to emphasise this point on the eve of Mr Gandhi's arrival in Washington on June 11. In a talk with Indian correspondents, he has said: "One thing India could do to help would be to encourage the Soviet Union to take the U.N. proposals for a resolution for seriously ..."

For India the central issue is Pakistan. Mr Gandhi himself has spoken several times on this question. He has been critical of the U.S. supply of sophisticated weapons such as F-16 to Pakistan and of its failure to take strong enough measures to force Islamabad to abandon its effort to acquire a nuclear weapons capability and possibly nuclear weapons.

### Weaknesses Evident

The weaknesses of the two positions are evident. The United States exaggerates India's influence with the Kremlin if it seriously believes that New Delhi can in fact persuade Moscow to withdraw from Afghanistan. The fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union and India have circumvented such contentious issues and not confronted them and resolved them and they can do no better now. Moreover, Americans cannot in fairness expect India to wish to play any role at all in the Afghanistan after so long as they do not allow it as a say in the determination of their own policy in this regard. As it happens, even the U.N. secretary-general's special emissary trying to find a political solution to the Afghanistan issue has not cared to come to New Delhi for serious discussions.

It is widely believed not just in this country that the Reagan administration sabotaged an agreement that had virtually been reached between the Soviet Union and Pakistan in April 1983 under U.N. auspices. Mr Selig Harrison and Mr Lawrence Lifschultz, leading experts of Afghanistan, have detailed this agreement and how the United States compelled president Zia-ul-Haq to go back on it. So it is difficult to believe that Washington wants an agreement which the Soviet Union can find acceptable. But we can let that pass. The crux of the matter for India is whether it is entitled to have a say in the determination of U.S. policy on an issue in which Washington wants it to be helpful. A say, let it be noted, is not a veto.

The same applies to the points Mr Gandhi and other Indian leaders have made in respect of the U.S. policy towards Pakistan. They cannot in fairness ask for a say in it so long as they are not prepared to concede to Washington a say in their approach to Afghanistan and indeed Pakistan.

American policy-makers must have a rather poor opinion about us if they seriously expect us to buy the proposition that their military assistance to Pakistan is wholly the result of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and that it can end if that presence is terminated. They know as well as we do that their military aid to Pakistan is the product of a number of developments

in the late seventies, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran being one of the most significant. President Carter was not ready to go as far as President Reagan did in respect of military supplies to Islamabad in the wake of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. But it is significant that President Carter was willing to ignore his earlier decision to cut off all aid to Pakistan because the latter was engaged in a clandestine effort to acquire a nuclear weapons capability. In other words, like President Reagan later, he too was prepared to ignore Pakistan's weapons-oriented nuclear programme.

If the Americans are guilty of underestimating our intelligence and our understanding of international developments, we err in blowing out of all proportion their capacity to determine the behaviour of their friends and allies.

Pakistan can occasionally be manipulated as it was in the summer of 1983 when it was forced to go back on a deal that it had more or less worked out with the Soviet Union on Afghanistan. But there are limits to this kind of manipulation by the U.S. which we should recognise.

Regardless, however, of what the United States can or cannot do to restrain Pakistan's nuclear ambitions, there is a fundamental question regarding Pakistan's status which must in all honesty be discussed between President Reagan and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and their aides. The issue is whether in view of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan Pakistan has become a front-line state in the struggle against the Soviet Union, or whether it has become the last buffer between Soviet power and India.

### Bone Of Contention

It is, of course, not an issue which has just arisen in Indo-U.S. relations. It was the main bone of contention even in the fifties when President Eisenhower decided to extend military assistance to Pakistan and Mr Nehru objected it strenuously though the Indian Prime Minister did not and indeed could not say for obvious reasons that Pakistan's security vis-à-vis the Soviet Union was a matter of concern principally for India and not the far away America. But it has acquired a new edge in view of the disappearance at least for the time being and possibly for ever of one of the two buffers which separated India from the Soviet Union and the U.S. pavlovian response to this development.

It would have been dishonest for us to raise this question if India was genuinely a Soviet ally and had no reservations regarding the extension of Soviet military power southward. But India is not a Soviet ally and it must have reservations regarding its military presence in Afghanistan. The existence of the two buffers — Afghanistan and Pakistan — was an essential prerequisite of friendship between the two countries, one a superpower which is inevitably seeking worldwide influence and the other a struggling nation which is naturally anxious to preserve its freedom and integrity.

There has never been an identity of interests and therefore no identity of viewpoints between them. There could not have been any such identity. Their interests have not converged, though they have not collided either. And they have not collided precisely because Soviet influence and leverage in South Asia have been limited.

Similarly, it would have been futile for us to raise this question if the U.S. policy of extending massive support to

Afghan Mujahideen had succeeded, or had held the prospect of succeeding and if the Pakistanis had continued to believe that in agreeing to serve as a conduit for U.S., Saudi and Egyptian arms and funds for the Mujahideen in return for American military supplies and Saudi largesses, they had made a good bargain. But the U.S. policy is not succeeding and there are indications that Pakistanis are beginning to be concerned over the consequences of their present policy.

We all know that Mr Gorbachov administered a most serious warning to President Zia when the latter visited Moscow on the occasion of President Chernenko's death. For the Soviets went out of their way to publicise this fact and President Zia himself acknowledged the accuracy of the *Tass* statement. We also know that under Mr Gorbachov's leadership the Soviets have stepped up their anti-rebel campaign in Afghanistan. There have been reports of Soviet-Afghan incursions into and raids on Pakistan, and of demoralisation among Mujahideen groups in Peshawar. Reports suggest that Mujahideens going into Afghanistan are not able to find the necessary support within the country. Mao compared guerillas to fish in a friendly sea. In the present case the sea is in danger of drying up. The Soviets have virtually emptied large areas close to Pakistan's borders where guerillas have sought and found shelter and sustenance.

Americans and Pakistanis have shown poor understanding of Russian psychology. They have not remembered the well-known fact that Russians resorted to a scorched earth policy in their fight against Napoleon and Hitler. And they have ignored the obvious implication that a people who can destroy their own hearths and crops in the defence of their country can do the same in Afghanistan if they are driven to it. The result of such a lack of understanding can only be disastrous.

### Grim Possibility

Pakistanis are said to be nervous. But how nervous we do not know. In the case of Americans, we can be even less sure. Indeed, the evidence is that they are as far from recognising the futility of their present policy as ever. After all, they are planning a \$6 billion aid package for Pakistan as the \$3.2 billion one moves into its last phase. Thus we cannot dismiss the grim possibility that we are trapped—between the deep sea and the devil. The U.S. has so far produced catastrophes in places such as Indo-China which have been sufficiently far away from us and the Soviet Union has imposed or promoted communist regimes in lands which have been distant from ours. Now they are doing so on our doorstep.

Despite all these new complications and the old ones between us and Pakistan, it cannot be seriously denied that history has taken a dramatic new turn in South Asia with the arrival of the Soviet on the Khyber. None of the interested parties has recognised this reality. But that will not make it go away. If the Soviets are there to stay in Afghanistan as appears to be the case, Pakistan has become India's only buffer. It may render services to America as in Saudi Arabia but it cannot be America's front-line state in the crusade against "the empire of evil", to use President Reagan's description of the Soviet Union. Frontline states have met sorry fates in Africa (against South Africa) and West Asia (against Israel). U.S. power cannot avoid a similar fate for Pakistan.



no  
ka  
loc  
no  
Bar  
a t  
N



# Russians Across The Khyber Baluchistan's Central Role

By AKBAR S. AHMED

**D**URING the last hundred years Russian moves in central Asia have been watched with wariness from the citadels of power in South Asia. Two opposed theories have dictated South Asian foreign and frontier policies. One advocated, and was called, "the forward policy", the other "masterly inactivity". The first suggests that the Russians are hell-bent on pushing down, through Afghanistan and Baluchistan, to the warm waters of the Arabian sea. They must be stopped at all costs. Major campaigns have been fought on this assumption. The great game between imperial Russia and imperial Britain was played on the high plateaus, deserted valleys and among remote tribes in central Asia. Some of the most evocative British writing and imperial names are associated with this school: Lord Roberts of Kandahar, Kipling, General Kitchener, Lord Curzon and in Baluchistan, Sir Robert Sandeman (after whom Fort Sandeman, the district headquarters, now Zhob, was named).

The second theory, less adventurous, suggested South Asia build strong defences around its northern borders and dig its heels behind them leaving outsiders to their own devices. Now that the Russians are in Afghanistan supporters of the first theory watch developments in and around the Baluchistan province of Pakistan with great interest. Today, they argue, if the Russians reached the coasts of Baluchistan they would paralyse the shipping lanes bringing oil from Iraq, Iran and the UAE to the west, threaten the strait of Hormuz and be poised to strike at Saudi Arabia. The entire geo-political balance between the east and the west would be dramatically and permanently changed.

## Forward Policy

For Pakistan, the problem with Baluchistan is its size and partly because of that its sparse population. Population density is 12 people per square kilometre in Baluchistan. Demographic figures in Baluchistan translate easily into political arguments. For instance, the Baluch have a thin edge over the Pathan population in the province, begin just over 50 per cent of the population of about four and a half million. Baluchistan accounts for 44 per cent of Pakistan's total area, 800,000 square kilometres, but only for 5 per cent of its 90 million people. Fifty-seven per cent of Pakistan's population live in the Punjab province which has only 26 per cent of the area. Punjab's population density, 230, explains its needs to push into other provinces.

Large Baluch areas also exist in Iran and Afghanistan. There are about one million Baluchis in Iran. Indeed, Baluch leaders like the Khan of Kalat claim that Baluchis live in an area of over 3 million square miles, the core of which is Baluchistan itself and total about 20 million. Together, this area and population form "Greater Baluchistan".

Baluchistan is a dry, arid, seemingly unending mass of desolate mountain and desert. There is no vegetation, rainfall a scant 5 inches. Freezing in winter (in places -40 degree F) and hot in summer (130 degree F) it is a formidable place to live in. Those who live here are formidable people. "The lofty heights are our comrades and the pathless gorges our friends" goes

*Akbar S. Ahmed is a well-known Pakistani administrator-anthropologist. This is the first of the two articles he has sent us.*

a 16th century war ballad. Their traditions speak of migrations from the lands of, and affiliation with, the Kurds. At least one major tribe, controlling the Bolan pass, retains the ancestral name, Kurd. Both Baluch and Kurd were Sunni Muslims, fiercely tribal and straddle three countries creating international political problems for each. The Baluch have always had problems with Iran.

Baluch intellectuals go to lengths to establish Aryan origins, innocent of the havoc modern Aryans were playing in Europe only a generation ago. In particular, the Brahuis, who consider themselves the elite Baluch tribe, are indignant that they were considered auto-ethnious or Dravidian by the British. For the Baluch the pain of the harsh environment is attenuated by the tribal code, its mythology and its structure.

The tribe is a self-contained world. At its centre is the *sardar* or chief of the tribe. Tall, full-bearded, in flowing clothes and heavy turban, the *sardar* looks like Sean Connery playing a tribe chief. He symbolises Baluch custom and tribal tradition. Honour, hospitality and bravery are displayed in his behaviour. The tribe revels in his glory. The word of the *sardar* is law, his authority total. In an area threatened by nature and often, invading tribes, unity under the *sardar* became the key to survival. The Baluch have a saying: "the Baluch will swear on the holy Quran but never on the head of the *sardar*".

In turn, *sardars* had, over them, *nawabs* or *khans* who headed tribal confederations. The Khan of Kalat, a Brahui, was, historically, the most important of these. His ancestor had welded the Baluch into a state half-a-century before Ahmed Shah created Afghanistan. But it was a state with fluctuating borders. Baluch society was essentially nomadic. It produced no great cities, no marble wonders, no centres of learning. It was also fiercely returned and isolated.

## Acute Tension

The Baluch society is changing. The factors of change are external and hence create acute tension in society. Of these three are worth noting. First, the abolition of sardari system by, and the politics of, Mr Z.A. Bhutto in the 1970s. Mr Bhutto hoped to end the sardari system with the stroke of a pen. But in the end he had to call in the army to support his action. The period 1973 to 1977, the year Mr Bhutto fell from power, were called the "war years" in Baluchistan. Along with abolishing the sardars, he attempted to encourage the growth of an alternative leadership within the tribe. A variety of development schemes, hospitals, schools, roads, were also initiated. Hitherto inaccessible areas were thus penetrated.

The second factor of change lies in the large numbers of Baluch who are working across the thin divide of the gulf in the Arab states. These Baluch turn the wheels of the Arab gulf states. They, with their hardy northern neighbours, the Pathans, were the two most prominent ethnic groups. They are to be seen working on the toughest physical jobs like the construction of roads. The

Baluch return with money in their pockets and other goodies in their possession. These Baluch, mostly from junior lineages or families, also bring back new ideas. They desire status and to be heard in society.

The third factor is the situation in Afghanistan. Only a few years before the Russians entered Afghanistan, in 1979, a vigorous Baluch movement existed. Opinion in it ranged from demands for autonomy to independence from Pakistan. This is now subdued. Events have overtaken it.

Some 700,000 refugees, mostly Pathans, have fled from Afghanistan into Baluchistan. The demographic balance between Baluch and Pathan is thus affected. If the Afghan refugees stay on, as many fear they will, Pathans will finally be in the majority in Baluchistan. All sorts of political ramifications will result. To start with, the name Baluchistan will no longer apply.

The Baluch have encouraged Afghan Pathans to settle in the Pathan districts adjacent to Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province. They are quick to point out that the camps of the refugees, Afghan tented villages—a name coined by Pakistani bureaucracy—are neither tents nor villages. For example, Surkhah, in Pishin district with an official population of about 130,000, looks like a large town with clean mud houses endlessly and neatly placed together.

## Pathan Momentum

The Afghan refugees will thus do what Pathan martial prowess failed to do: convert Baluchistan into a Pathan majority area. Historically why did the Pathan momentum lose steam and end where it did? Firstly, Pathans tended to settle in the better irrigated, cooler, higher, districts. But apart from ecology there were other reasons. Blocking their path were the two fiercest tribes among the Baluch, the Marri and the Bugti. These tribes, themselves, have a history of conquest. Baluch invaders have annexed adjoining lands in Sind and in the Punjab.

Baluchis suffer from a sense of deprivation. They feel Islamabad has given them a raw deal. They point to their own provincial government. Until 1985 only three of the fourteen secretaries and only one of the four commissioners were Baluch. Baluchistan has the lowest literacy rate, lowest life expectancy and lowest income per capita of the four provinces of Pakistan. Extreme Baluch, represented by the Baluch students organisation, see Islamabad as colonisers. They say that as an answer to legitimate demands Islamabad has only sent in troops. Islamabad points to the millions of rupees poured into the development effort. Also to corruption (most of the money finds its way into private pockets) harsh conditions, poor communications, illiteracy and the sardars as hindering development.

In 1962 on a mission to Pakistan for president Kennedy, Henry Kissinger, then a Harvard professor, on being briefed about Baluchistan dismissed it testily. "I wouldn't recognise the Baluchistan problem if it hit me in the face." Today, whichever theory one upholds, it is clear that developments in Baluchistan will determine the shape of things to come in South Asia and the Middle East.







# INDIA AND PAKISTAN—I

## The Beginning Of A New Relationship?

By PHILLIPS TALBOT

**W**HATEVER its other consequences last winter's brief war in South Asia broke the mould that since 1947 had cast India-Pakistan relations into a continuing confrontation punctuated by three military conflicts. Now, for better or worse, the subcontinent with its 700 million people has been transformed into a "menage a trois", linking together three national members in new relationships.

Two of these nations—defeated, truncated Pakistan and the new State of Bangladesh—entered 1972 beset by severe national problems. Neither is likely soon to play more than a reactive rôle in the affairs of the region. By contrast, India, the third element, emerged as a relative giant. Before 1971 India by many measures was three or four times larger than Pakistan, though her weaknesses reduced the differential in some respects. Today she has ten times the population and resource base of Pakistan and considerably more than ten times the resources of Bangladesh. Her decisive military victory over Pakistan last December added a full measure of self-confidence to her mood. Moreover, under Mrs Gandhi's firm management India's economy has become steadier; and the country's polity more closely knit in 1972. India has attained, in short, a new primacy in the subcontinent.

### TENSIONS & CONFLICTS

In these radically changed circumstances can Bangladesh, Pakistan and India put behind them the tensions and conflicts of the past generation in favour of peaceful cohabitation in their region? This question is urgent for a great many people outside as well as within the subcontinent proper. Such immediate neighbours as Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan, whose anxieties over the events of 1972 were evident, have major stakes in the answer. So do some, at least, of the nations of South-East Asia and Western Asia. The Soviet Union and China see that their own confrontation has a southern flank in the subcontinent.

rice strains that were just becoming available in 1970-71. Also, the society is buoyed up by a rich and ancient culture and an educated class which, although relatively small, includes impressive talent. Sheikh Mujib and his colleagues have some justification for their belief that the country has reasonably good prospects for the future.

For the present, however, the sober realities of independence start with tremendous reconstruction needs. If there is a single first priority, it must be to re-establish the transport and communications systems. This year the country must also import perhaps two million tons of foodgrains and rebuild lost homes for millions of returning refugees. In getting factories back into production it must replace managers—many of whom were West Pakistanis—as well as equipment and stocks that disappeared. The total reconstruction cost has been estimated by some as high as \$3 billion, which would virtually equal one year's gross national product in Bangladesh. (The statistics are very approximate.) Plainly, the effort will require massive external assistance.

The sweep of domestic requirements quite naturally influences the foreign policy goals of Bangladesh. After assuming the Prime Ministership, Sheikh Mujib promptly declared that external assistance would be welcome from any source. He explicitly included the USA before the latter's recognition of his State and despite the belief that the U.S. Government had been antipathetic to the Bangladesh movement. He travelled to Moscow, both to thank the Russians for their early assistance and in search of more aid. He actively sought ties with as many nations as possible. The principal external link he forged, however, was with India.

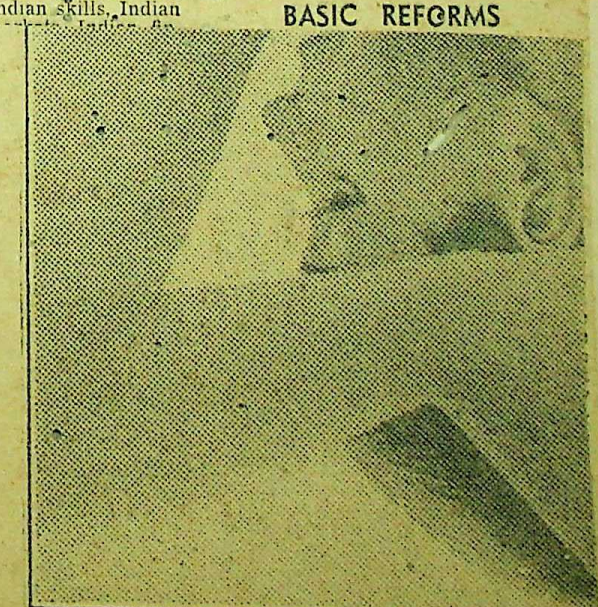
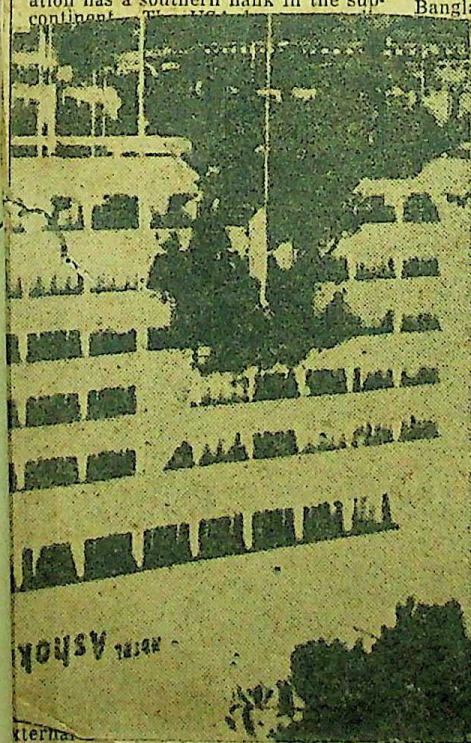
It is obvious that for the indefinite future Bangladesh will be heavily dependent on India, and that India will have a major stake in the survival and stability of Bangladesh. Not only was Indian support decisive in bringing Bangladesh to birth but Bangladesh finds Indian skills, Indian

sent realities. Objectively, its prospects are not necessarily bleak. It is no longer beset by the deep cultural cleavages of the former bifurcated State. At current consumption levels it is economically viable, and it has prospects for growth. Its ratio of resources to population seems rather more favourable than India's, not to mention that of Bangladesh. If it is given international economic assistance it should be able to acquire a considerable degree of self-sufficiency. Whether it can in fact do so must depend heavily on how President Bhutto's Government deals with critical issues both on the domestic front and in the necessary war settlement. The national fabric at present is so fragile that serious adverse developments in either area could tear it apart.

The country must absorb the economic as well as the other consequences of the loss of East Pakistan. The trade and resource exchanges on which much of the Pakistani economy had been built are gone. While alternative prospects (e.g., cotton textile sales in Africa) can perhaps be developed, for the time being the economic base is highly vulnerable.

Even more vulnerable is the political base. This quickly became evident when Mr Bhutto collided with regional leaders and other political elements over such issues as the maintenance of martial law (which he subsequently lifted, while keeping many of the same controls under a continuing state of emergency). His early months in office saw police strikes in at least three cities and disruptions and walkouts at some of his public meetings. In a partisan campaign reminiscent of Bengali demands a year earlier, voices in the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind—Mr Bhutto's own province—called for substantial provincial autonomy rather than a strong Central Government. Mr Bhutto is well known for political agility, but whether he can keep the underlying conflicts in check remains to be seen.

### BASIC REFORMS



INDRAJIT INDUSTRIES  
Contact: 1-  
Post Box 181, Bombay-1

no private college affiliated  
University shall levy any  
other than the fees referred  
in ordinance, a notification

The Soviet

Even otherwise so far.



IN

IN striking contrast to the riding a crest of To foreign visitors have seemed to being Indian and about faults or country than a memory. They a tasks facing there of confidence.

But more than military triumph mood. In economic fields as well, India has been buoyed by years of disappointment. India's towering programmes are yet to be sure: public unemployment, management public sector, military operation stringencies and culties can still length. What growth in net 1960-61 prices) past decade has the average India than 1% per year.

#### SELF-SUFFICIENCY

None the less genuine progress works. In just "revolution", for problems it brought India sufficiency in production has substantially in attained higher ation. With a technocrats and Government sistent manager on the way Balance in foreign dollars less be has greater efforts by the suspension of war of debt loans by the time at least, ries. Economic seems to be on the way.

Recent progress has been Gandhi has promoted national leadership Jawaharlal Nehru political management at the time of Vallabhbhai Patel fragmented and er opponents temporary election consolidated her political apparatus campaigning with the present victory) for "strong governments, policies". Her test that India regional strain nearly acquired beyond the realm of Prime Minister e seen is how domestically and with other Powers future tranquility at, much will current cohesion be used to settlement with The prospect of the subcontinent affected by the external Power The Soviet Union



# INDIA AND PAKISTAN-II

## The Role Of The Big Powers

By PHILLIPS TALBOT

IN striking contrast to Bangladesh and Pakistan, India has been riding a crest of exhilaration in 1972. To foreign visitors Indians this year have seemed to show more pride in being Indian and less defensiveness about faults or shortcomings in their country than at any time within memory. They approach the national tasks facing them with a new degree of confidence.

But more than elation over the military triumph underlies the new mood. In economic and political fields as well, Indian confidence has been buoyed by stronger results after years of disappointments. Not all of India's towering economic programmes are yet yielding to solutions, to be sure: population pressures, unemployment, urban deficiencies, management problems—especially in public sector corporations, black market operations, foreign exchange stringencies and other familiar difficulties can still be catalogued at great length. What is more, the 30% growth in net national income (at 1960-61 prices) achieved during the past decade has improved the lot of the average Indian by hardly more than 1% per year.

### SELF-SUFFICIENCY

None the less, there has been genuine progress and more is in the works. In just five years the "green revolution", for all the well-publicized problems it has generated, has brought India to the point of self-sufficiency in foodgrains. Industrial production has not only expanded substantially in scale but has also attained higher levels of sophistication. With a new generation of technocrats moving up in business and Government, some of India's persistent management problems may be on the way to being managed. Balance in foreign exchange will doubtless be harder to achieve, but greater efforts have been stimulated by the suspension during the December war of development assistance loans by the USA and, for a time at least, by some other countries. Economically, the country seems to be on the move.

Recent progress in political management has been more dramatic. Mrs Gandhi has proved herself as adept a national leader as her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, and as skilled a political manager as his close associate at the time of independence, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Having fragmented and virtually neutralized her opponents in the central parliamentary elections of 1971, she consolidated her hold on the country's political apparatus in early 1972 by campaigning with great effect (and with the prestige of the Bangladesh victory) for "strong and stable State governments, in tune with national policies". Her victories do not suggest that India will no longer face regional strains. However, she has clearly acquired a degree of authority beyond the reach of previous Indian Prime Ministers. What remains to be seen is how she will use it, both domestically and in India's relations with other Powers. In respect to the future tranquillity of the subcontinent, much will depend on how India's current cohesiveness and confidence are used to contribute to a lasting settlement with Pakistan.

The prospects for a fresh start in the subcontinent are necessarily also affected by the postures of the major external Powers.

The Soviet Union has substantially

increased working relationships with India during the past year. It has aimed at this since the 1950s and especially since the Sino-Soviet split and the Sino-Indian war of 1962. Soviet economic involvement in India and the scale of its military aid to India both rose markedly after the India-Pakistan war of 1965. By 1969 the Soviets were hoping for a favourable Indian response to the Brezhnev proposal for an Asian security arrangement. However, it was only the confluence of two developments in mid-1971 that opened the way for a formal Soviet-Indian tie. One was the new turn in Chinese-American relationships, dramatized by Dr Kissinger's flight to Peking via Pakistan; to Indians this suggested a prospective axis of three nations antipathetic to Indian interests. The other was the gathering Bengal crisis and the possibility of another India-Pakistan war, in which India could expect backing only from the Soviet Union among the major Powers. Faced with these prospects, India signed a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union last August. The pact was generally welcomed by Indian opinion. Although some Indians expressed anxiety that their country might fall too much under the Soviet sway—and tended to blame the USA for "having pushed up into Russia's arms"—there was considerable confidence that India could manage the Soviet relationship to her own advantage.

The Soviets also moved quickly to establish a presence in Bangladesh. While their assistance was not great in quantity, at least in the early months, they spared no effort to establish their visibility as a benefactor. More quietly, they also received Mr Bhutto in Moscow and agreed to resume assistance programmes that had been under way in West Pakistan before the war. There can be no doubt that the Soviets see themselves as a major factor in the subcontinent and intend to remain so.

### POSTURE CHINESE

By contrast, China has seemed to view the subcontinent in terms of her own confrontation with the Soviet Union and her differences with India, rather than as an area of broad opportunity. Her close and cordial relations with Pakistan did not affect the outcome of the Bengal conflict. Now that Pakistan's political weight in the subcontinent has dwindled, some Indians hope the Chinese may revise their posture.

The same hope is voiced about the Americans. With rare unanimity, Indian opinion has judged American official policy on the Bangladesh issue as wholly wrong. Reactions have ranged from outright hostility to deep puzzlement as to what could have driven the U.S. Government to support a corrupt and politically bankrupt Pakistani régime, alienate India and wind up with the defeated and discredited side. No matter that the White House in 1971 was focusing primarily on the China initiative rather than on the subcontinent or that American policy was apparently influenced by official suspicions that India intended to encourage the break-up of West Pakistan after completing the task in Bangladesh. Some influential Indians who had long been known as pro-American have particularly resented being, as they see it, let down. They have noticed with satisfaction that general public

opinion in the USA has appeared to favour the Indian position rather than that of the U.S. Government. Even so, bitterness against the USA has been running higher than in any period since the middle 1950s, when U.S. military aid programmes for Pakistan were first developed.

The first fragile indications that both the USA and India would prefer to move toward more normal relationships came months later. Both have sound reasons to desire friendly relations. Having won her contest within the subcontinent and, in the process, strengthened her ties with the Soviet Union, India needs to bring her international relations back into some sort of balance. On the American side, it is clear that henceforward any dealings of significance within the subcontinent will bring the USA into contact with India.

This was made clear by the U.S. recognition of Bangladesh. Also, continuing contacts with the Pakistan Government help make certain that the USA, like the Soviet Union, will maintain working relationships with all three countries. What directions they will take must depend on the kind of relationships that are worked out between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh themselves.

### DEVELOPMENTS

Whatever the great-Power concerns with the subcontinent, in the new circumstances of 1972 the focus must be on developments within the region rather than on influences from outside. While all three of the countries in the subcontinent need access to international economic assistance programmes to achieve timely growth, and to the network of international connexions within the world community, the key decisions affecting the 700 million people of the region will be made in the three national capitals.

Two factors stand out in the relationships among the three countries. One is the imbalance between the contributions to be expected from Dacca, Islamabad and New Delhi. The stability of Bangladesh is the primary responsibility of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Government, just as the integrity of Pakistan is the central domestic issue facing the Government of Mr Bhutto. Yet neither of these countries can manage its affairs without taking into account the posture and policies of its neighbour India. India, on the other hand, carries not only the responsibility for three-quarters of the subcontinent's population but also the knowledge that her views and actions can substantially affect the well-being of the two smaller countries. Thus, while in a "ménage à trois" it takes three to make a settlement, the chief opportunity and responsibility clearly lie with the one that disposes the most resources.

The second factor is the inescapable linkage of the three independent nations. As Mr Bhutto commented in a recent conversation, "There is something about the subcontinent, with its high mountains to the north and the ocean surrounding it on all other sides, that keeps us all together and forces us to find ways to live with each other". It is this sort of understanding, to the extent that it is shared by him and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mrs Gandhi, that gives the best hope, despite all difficulties, of a fresh start in the subcontinent.

—Copyright: Foreign Affairs.

(Concluded)







# Role of MUSLIMS Indian politics

USE OF MUSLIMS IN INDIAN POLITICS: An Analysis of Developments from 1885 to 1906 By Rafiq Zakaria, Somaiya Publications; Rs. 45/-.

IN recent years, as communal conflict has grown, studies on the role of Muslims in Indian politics have acquired greater relevance and urgency.

Yet, very few works of any real worth have appeared. For the most part, the reader has been treated to opinions and theories unsubstantiated by documentation and works based only on secondary sources. Quack "experts" on the Muslim problem have also thrived.

Dr. Rafiq Zakaria's book marks a departure. It is an original work based entirely on primary sources which the author has himself collected.

It covers the period between 1885, when the Indian National Congress was born, and 1906 when the All-India Muslim League came to being. It was a formative period.

"The controversies and the conflicts which engulfed the Indian political arena from 1937 to 1947 and their origin in the period under review (1885-1906). Is it not amazing that so little progress could be made towards their resolution in more than half a century's struggle against the British?"

## Repression

"The same controversies and conflicts, which dominated this period, continued to plague us right up to the end of the British rule. The price we paid was a partition of India, but even this terrible price did not solve the problem; it has only added to the bitterness."

One understands the Indian Muslims' present predicament much better after reading this book. Even about the past it destroys quite a few myths, such as that the Muslims were pampered by the British rulers or that there was no Muslim leadership before the Muslim League.

Before and more so after the Partition, the British intensely disliked the Muslims. The Muslim's role in the Mutiny made matters worse for them. Lord Roberts' reaction was typical. The British should "show these rascals Muslims that with God's help Britishmen will still be the masters of India."

## Education

The heavy hand of British repression fell largely on the Muslims. As Sir Alfred Lyall explained, Muslims having forfeited the confidence of their rulers "lost numerical majority in the subordinate ranks of the civil and military services" disturbed by the fast deterioration of the position of the Muslims under British rule. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan about repairing the damage sought to reassure the British of Muslim loyalty to them, to persuade the Muslims, for their part, to be loyal, in fact, and to save themselves of the "benefits of the Raj, particularly in the field of education."

They proved rather difficult persuaded and so lagged behind in education that in 1871 the Government

of India passed a resolution deploring their backwardness and directing the administration to give them greater encouragement.

About this time appeared Sir William Hunter's famous book on Indian Muslims, in which he gave detailed statistics about the virtual exclusion of Muslims from public employment.

"In fact there is now scarcely a Government Office in Calcutta (then the country's capital) in which a Muhammadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots and mender of pens."

Dr. Zakaria supplements this with statistics drawn from official documents in regard to education and employment. They are astonishing. He writes, "In private colleges like St. Xavier's in Bombay there was not a single Muslim student."

## Hurdle

If the causes of the backwardness were many, the cure was fairly simple. It was English education and, with it, acceptance of the new order of things.

"In this connection, the biggest hurdle which they had to encounter were the Ulama, who still held immense sway over the Muslims gentry as well as the masses." There were theologians like Shibli, though, who waged a campaign against orthodoxy.

Political apathy was an aspect of the general state of backwardness. The author has traced the first stirrings of political activity, reflected in the organisations which grew up, foremost among them being Ameer Ali's Central National Muhammadan Association.

## Grievances

But it needs to be stressed, since it is so often overlooked, that at all times there was a parallel nationalist, as opposed to loyalist, school of Muslim leadership. As, indeed, there was among the Hindus. This divide cut across religious lines.

If Sir Syed was the arch-loyalist, Badruddin Tyabji represented the nationalist Muslims. He presided over the Third Indian National Congress. From then on there began the Great Debate between the two in the course of which the former propounded the two-nation theory which Jinnah dusted up and used half a century later.

After Sir Syed's death the idea of "a systematic political organisation" of the Muslims gained ground. Opinion was divided on the nature of such an organisation.

"There were some, like Nawab Mehdi Husain of Lucknow, who wanted to make common cause with the Hindus; some like Morison and Mohsinul Mulk who revived the old idea of a Grand Council of chosen leaders to look after the Muslims, while there were others, perhaps more numerous than all the rest, who desired the formation of a Muslim political organisation, more or less on the same lines as the Indian National Congress but much more loyal to the British."

Reviewed, by

A. G. Noorani

Eventually, the last school prevailed.

But, at the same time, Muslim participation in the Congress also increased. "There were at the twenty-second Congress at Calcutta about 50 Muslim delegates, including such promising young men as Wazir Hasan, M. A. Jinnah and Abbas Tyabjee."

It was also at this session that the Congress raised its voice against the Privy Council decisions on Wakf-alal aulad and thus gained more Muslim sympathy to its cause.

"According to Surendranath Banerjee more than 200 Muslim visitors attended this Congress; while there were 100 Muslim volunteers out of 300."

The following year about 50 Muslim leaders led by the Aga Khan went to the Viceroy in the famous deputation and presented their grievances and demands. Within less than three days thereafter they decided to form a political organisation. Thus the Muslim League had come into being at Dacca on December 31, 1906.

## Interests

However, at the same time in Calcutta another Muslim meeting was being held, attended by delegates from all over the country.

"Among the resolutions adopted by this latter meeting was one which called upon the Muslims to work with other communities in all political and economic matters because the interests of the Muslims were in no way different from those of others."

"To propagate this point of view, which was opposed to that of the League, a new political organisation under the name, Indian Muslim Association, was launched. Of course it was also to 'safeguard their legitimate interests.' But this was to be done in collaboration with the other communities."

"A provisional Committee of 26 members was set up to make preliminary arrangements and to call at a future date a more representative gathering to finalise the plan. Nawab Syed Mahomed was elected the President of the Committee and Kazi Kabiruddin, Abbas Tyabjee and M. A. Jinnah its Vice-Presidents. A. Rasul was appointed to act as the Secretary."

## Councillors

These two schools of Muslim political thought in India continued ever after to exist, a phenomenon by no means peculiar to this community.

Meanwhile, the Congress was making itself felt. The Indian Councils Act, 1892 was a triumph for the Congress. Many of its demands such as enlargement of Councils, discussion of financial statements, and right of interpellation were conceded, and though popular representation was refused, many prominent Congress leaders were, in fact, nominated to the Imperial and Provincial Councils. The figures of representation in

## Collaboration



D

K

WT:





# THE VANISHED DREAMS OF INDEPENDENCE

**L**ET'S confess it, Independence Day has become a bit of a bore. It is a very welcome holiday from the furious pace of the workaday world of the Supersonic Seventies. It is also an occasion for some of us to air our patriotism and the Tricolour tucked away carefully for this annual event. But that is about all. Most of us probably don't even care to listen to the radio commentary on the goings-on at Delhi's Red Fort. I don't. I am too tired of the same speech year after year—the exhortations to learn from the wisdom of our sages and national heroes. (I have often in the past been tempted to fling a little of T.S. Eliot into the proceedings:

"Do not let me hear  
Of the wisdom of old men but  
rather of their folly."

I doubt even if the khadi-clad gentleman hoisting the flag in the local park in the presence of a motley crowd of politicians, local bigwigs, students and street urchins, really cares. More likely, it is for him an hour of spotlighted splendour during which he strings together beautiful phrases into a glittering garland of false profundity.

Let me get my credentials clear. I am not one of the blasé young, sophisticates of the "international" set. I am an over-30, who believes in his country—not the very "in" thing to do these days—and do not shout about emigrating the moment I find life a little inconvenient here. No I am very much a flag-waving patriot, corny as it may sound. And I do have a dream.

It is a dream that many have dreamt, a dream that in Tagore's words is:

Where the mind is without  
fear and the head is held high,  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been  
broken up into fragments by  
narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from  
the depth of truth;  
Where timeless striving  
stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason  
has not lost its way into the  
dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward  
by thee into ever-widening  
thought and action—  
Into that heaven of freedom,  
my Father, let my country  
awake!

I first dreamt this dream as a 10-year-old the night we kept "our tryst with destiny." Midnight of August 14-15 in 1947. We were in New Delhi. Crouched round the radio in our drawing room were my father, his friends and I. I remember my father's face radiant, his eyes shining with excitement. In hushed silence we listened to the proceedings of that first, historic session of the Constituent Assembly of India, to Mr Nehru's rich, emotion-charged voice as he made his fateful speech:

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure but very substantially."

"At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history when we step out from the old to the new when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance."

And as the hour struck, the

That dawn of hope 23 years ago  
has turned into a nightmare says

**SADHAN BANERJEE**

soul of free India found exuberant utterance in the conch shells we blew, the bells and gongs we rang and in our joyous exclamations.

I was far too excited to sleep. It seemed dawn would never come. When it did, I joined other members of my club in a "prabhat pheri". Keeping time to Kazi Nazim's stirring marching song.

Chal chal, chal,  
Urdha gagane baje madal,  
Nimne utala dharane tal,  
Aruno prater taruno dal,  
Chal re chal re chal

We paraded the streets of our locality heralding the dawn of freedom.

I do not remember the exact details of all that happened in those crowded, riotously happy hours 23 years ago. But I can recollect that my friends and I walked all the way to Government House where Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma was to be sworn in as the first Governor-General of Independent India. I can still see that sea of people, one surging mass of cheering humanity shouting lustily "Jai Hind" and "Mountbatten Ki Jai" as the smiling, handsome, almost-hero resplendent in his admiral's uniform passed by in his State coach.

Then came evening and the long trek to India Gate. All roads in Delhi at that hour led to the vast open spaces of the Central Vista. Men, women and children walked miles to see Lord Mountbatten lower the Union Jack and Mr Nehru unfurl the Tricolour. The rest of the programme, including the parade, had to be cancelled as the mammoth crowd proved uncontrollable.

Battling my way to the front ranks I caught a glimpse of a smiling Mr Nehru hoisting the flag before I was swept away. All the way home I remember I kept chanting: "We are free, we are free."

The celebrations continued the next day. Sweets were distributed to us at school and copper plaques with the Ashoka Lion and the date of independence embossed on them were presented to everyone. Cinemas treated us to free film shows during the day and at night brilliant fireworks lit the sky. We were all in a state of euphoria and dreamed our dreams.

I remember my elders discussing animatedly how, now that we were free of British rule, we would be a rich country. In my childish way I visualized stacks and stacks of currency notes at home. When I told my father this, he laughed and explained what a rich, developed country meant. Food, shelter and the other basic necessities and education for all. It would require a lot of nation-building activity—dams, roads, railways, schools, new industries. This would only be the beginning. Later, as our foreign trade grew, as more things Indian found their way into world markets, we would have enough money to afford the luxuries of life—cars, skyscrapers, etc. And I dreamt of a Delhi

of huge mansions and carloads of happy, well-fed and well-dressed people.

The moment of history passed and today, 23 years later the dream has turned into a nightmare. Delhi has its skyscrapers and its wonderful cars, but also its slums and horse carts. Where amidst it all are the happy, well-fed people? Dams have been built, agricultural science has gone forward by leaps and bounds—so we are told—but we have not been able to wipe away the threat of famine. While our leaders debate whether it is "starvation" or "malnutrition", thousands of helpless people go hungry day after day. One square meal is manna from heaven, not a birthright.

The mind too is not without fear. As petty politicians bicker for power, law and order become archaic words in the common man's vocabulary. Inter-party clashes go on unchecked, citizens are attacked because they subscribe to a different political view, and the gun and the knife are freely used for the Cause, whatever that may be. This might not be true all over the country but it certainly is a frightening reality in the State of West Bengal.

We are not even "one people." After 23 years of freedom, it is rare to find a person who believes that he is first an Indian and then Tamilian, Bengali, Malayali or Maharashtrian. There is so much talk of national integration, yet every so often there comes a demand for a new State. Administrative and economic considerations are cited to advance the case but behind the demand are, almost always, parochial interests. Senas flourish by the dozen in the country. "Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians", "Assam for the Assamese", such are the cries raised by them as they incite the common man against minorities in their States. And I dream of an India which has "not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls."

Is knowledge free? For every student who goes to college, I was told at the university, 10 children are denied high school education. Yet having paid this price, what does the country gain from the graduate? His degree-oriented mania cripples his potentialities for any other but a white-collar job, which is pretty hard to come by these days. And so another "educated unemployed" is born. While this is understandable, what seems insane is that over 40,000 engineers should be jobless in a developing country. Do we need any more telling comment on the state of education and planning in our country today?

What of those leaders, those giants among men whom we idolized? Most of them are gone, their tasks unfinished and the few who are still on the scene seem like

the hollow men  
the stuffed men  
Leaning together  
Headpiece filled with straw"





ONT.





# The 1857 Rising—Was It National In Character?

The Rising of 1857, which convulsed the vast Indian subcontinent, has been a highly controversial topic as to whether it was a Sepoy Mutiny or a national revolt, the First War of India's Independence, such as Mr. V.D. Savarkar and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose have claimed it to be. An important fact in this consideration is whether there was planning in the Rising of 1857, and if that planning reveals its national character. Here we shall discuss only this aspect of the question.

That there was a good deal of planning in the 1857 Rising is revealed from direct as well as indirect evidence. The planning was emphatically claimed by the late Mr. V.D. Savarkar and directly admitted by a few very important and impartial British historians. Moreover, the circumstantial evidences also support the fact there was good deal of planning. Let us examine them one by one.

## Chapatti Episode

"During the months of February, March and April (1857) rumours reached us at Peshawar of mysterious 'chapattis' (unleavened cakes) being sent about the country with the object, it was alleged, of preparing the natives for forthcoming event" wrote one of the British Generals who played a direct part in suppressing the Rising of 1857. The letters censored by General Edwardes and Nicholson on the 11th May 1857 "showed but too clearly how necessary was this precaution. The number of seditious papers seized was alarmingly great, they were for the most part couched in figurative and enigmatical language, but it was quite sufficiently clear from them that every native regiment in the garrison was more or less implicated and prepared to join the rebel movement."

Thus the movement was general, and the sepoys were prepared to join it. This is significant. A further significant admission is that "quietly, but surely, the instigators of rebellion were preparing the native army for revolt."

Another British General and a writer said, "Then came the curious episode of the chapattis.....They came from one village watchman to another with the message 'From the North to the South and from the East to the West', and every watchman was enjoined to make four more and send them out with the same message. To this day no clue has been arrived at as to whence they came and who started this alarming type of chain letter". The village watchmen were not Sepoys nor a part of the Army. That is important. Also it proves that the planning was general and popular.

## Englishmen's Confessions

"The Maulavi of Fyzabad had, it was known, visited various Mohammedan centres early in the year, and while well-known for his fanaticism before the outbreak, at once became one of its leaders. The Nana (Dundoo Pant, adopted son of the ex-Peshwa) too had made extensive journeys and pilgrimages, which may have also meant some attempt at combination". In this connection we should also note the famous journey of Azimullah Khan, the co-worker of the Nana, in Europe just before the Rising of 1857. He visited London, Paris, and Constantinople, and was received in the best circles in Europe, and studied the European situation during the Crimean War.

Among the letters seized, one is dated the 4th of April 1857 in which a Frenchman writes from Benaras. "Pour toutes les principales choses les réponses seraient satisfaisantes: soyez — en assure" which according to Lord Roberts might refer to the invitation extended to the disaffected in Calcutta and Chandernagar to come and help in the overthrow of the British Power. All these things suggest planning and that planning was national and even international.

Rising of 1857 are Mr. Williams and Colonel Carmichael Smith who were fully convinced that May the 31st was the day fixed for the concerted attack on the British power in India. Sir James Outram accepts it as a Muslim Rising on the whole. That means it was surely something more than mere Sepoy mutiny. General MacMunn also agrees that the 31st of May 1857 was fixed according to Plan.

On July 2, 1857 Emperor Bahadur Shah called a meeting of the Generals of the different regiments where General Bakht Khan of the Rohilkhand Army was appointed the Commander-in-Chief. Sometime back, the Government of India acquired a copy of the circular letter of Bahadur Shah, of 1858 to the Rajput Princes in which he assured them that after the expulsion of the British Power they would have full freedom to choose anyone as the ruler. All these facts prove the planning on a comprehensive scale.

## Premature Outbreak

T. R. Holmes in his "Indian Mutiny" suggested that it was believed that the Russians would expel the British from India. Justice Cracroft of Moradabad collected evidence which convinced him that the Revolt was planned for May, 31st (1857) and that the premature outbreak at Meerut on the 10th May spoiled the plan. But John Lawrence suggests that there was no organised 'conspiracy', for, according to him, if existed some of the condemned sepoys would surely have saved their lives by disclosing it. But no one of them knew anything of it. Here it is important to note that it is too much to expect that the plan should have been divulged by the leaders to the rank and file of the sepoys before the outbreak. Moreover, it is not true that not one of them knew anything of it, for in a letter written by the Rev. Bishop Kay of the Bishop's College, Calcutta to London in July 1857, he writes that Mr. Haycock of Cawnpore wrote to him just before the outbreak that his Maulavi told him six months previously that they "would soon feel the sharpness of the Mussalman's Sword." So, there was planning that was of a comprehensive, popular and national character.

Referring to the Secret Society set up by the Nana, Travelyan writes: "No society of rich and civilised Christians whoever undertook to preach the gospel of peace and goodwill can have employed a more perfect system of organisation than was adopted by these rascals whose mission it was to preach the gospel of sedition and slaughter." Kay writes, "For months, for years indeed, they had been spreading their network of intrigues all over the country. From one native court to another, from one extremity to another of the great continent of India the agents of the Nana-Sahib had passed with overtures and invitations discreetly, perhaps, mysteriously, worded to princes and chiefs of different races and religions." The Delhi Durbar sent a confidential agent to Persia so that the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 might be co-ordinated with the Indian Rising of 1857. Mukand Lal, the Private Secretary to the Emperor has recorded that in the Palace everyone planned and discussed 'Swaraj'.

When one considers these plain confessions by eminent English Generals and historians, how strange must appear the recent attempt by a few Indian historians to prove that it was not a national rising at all.

The Rising of 1857 was national in character, it was hailed with wild enthusiasm everywhere, and it rallied all sorts of people under it. It started as the result of a genuine desire of the people to achieve independence. It was planned and organised at the start. But, for the reasons already cited, the plan could not be properly executed.

Pareesh Nath Mukherjee

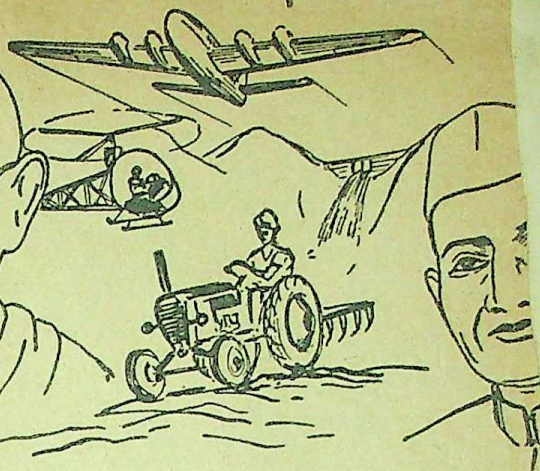
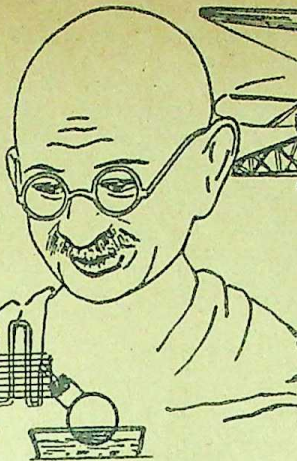
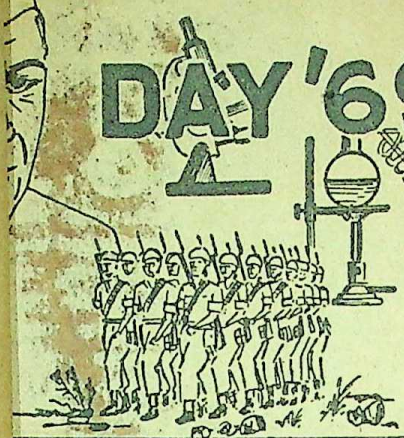




END  
D  
PUNJ  
complete Pe  
ill-time reco  
over 18 lakh  
oodgrains p  
sonnes.  
two lakh rub  
credit facili  
labour wages  
three New Fo  
argest numbe  
ANGUA  
S DETER



# INDEPENDENCE DAY '69



A Tribune Feature

He was in habitual Khaddar ... His sharp penetrating

whole room would have letely over-at person-

## INTER

S.

admit that as long as I have ody, I must wrap it with ething. But, if any one ts to take it off me, I shan't the police".

### dictive Anger

Later in 1942, it was dur- Churchill's Prime Minister- that the Mahatma was in prison and there were y eminent Commonwealth esmen, who felt that Mr. urchill was treating the in- a leader with a vindictive er, and one of them was the Field Marshal Smuts. Lord an in his memoirs men- is that in August 1942, Chur- l met Smuts at Cairo, while British Prime Minister was his way to meet Stalin at cow. The Mahatma was in on and during the dinner

### ricus

uts told Churchill "Gandhi a man of God. You and I are ndane people. Gandhi has ealed to religious motives. a never have. That is where a have failed". Churchill lau- ed and told Smuts "I have ide more bishops (Men of d? (sic) ) than any one ice St. Augustine."

Next to the British Prime inister, the Secretary of State r India was the Minister res- onable for dealing with the dian Empire and it is inte- esting to hear the view of uch eminent statesmen in- in Montague.

wrote to King George V as follows, "I think that most of

Lord Mountbatten was deter- mined to make a success of this first meeting with the saint-politician and was pre- pared to talk with him for hours, without any agenda. In

dare not resist your kind call". of Bihar's riot torn villages. I have difficulty in moving out representative. "Although I strife. He replied to the Crown nance to quell the communal Bi-har, on a pilgrimage of pe- arrived, the Mahatma was in When the Viceroy's invitation dier, was of different mould. Mountbatten, although a sol- The next Viceroy, Lord

wards replaced Lord Wavell was shortly after gram from the Mahatma, who With other factors, this tele-

law". though some of us may know not all be soldiers and even plain men although we may not know law. We are all

evening you said that you were same day. "Several times last mince words and wrote the himself the Mahatma did not legal mind. To Lord Wavell the Viceroy with an abler and the Prime Minister to bolster the Mahatma wanted the Bri- strike going on in Bengal and unnered at the communal that Lord Wavell was retling roy's state of mind and opined pressing concern at the Vice- ish Prime Minister Atlee, ex- er penned a cable to the Bri- to their camp, the Indian lead- mental balance, and returning that the Viceroy was losing his Mahatma, this was a signal to talk of blackmail?" To the God's sake, man, who are you particularly tense period. "For abouted at Nehru during a with Gandhi and Nehru and of himself during a meeting when the Viceroy lost control The crisis came on 27.8.1946

### Victory Of His Life

you". say would be "I see... thank of it, all he could think of to stuning to gaze and at the end see his single eye gradually be- die with his pencil and I would rid- of sheer misery. He would rid- expression on his face was one Littleman prattled on, and the roy would sit there, while the of one of his aides. "The Vice- vious night and in the words he became sleepless the pre- began to cause the Viceroy so

— MAHATMA GANDHI

habits.

the lack of sanitary

PUNJAB IS DETER THREE LANGUA

Largest numbe

Three New Fo

Labour wages

Credit facili

Two lakh sub

tonnes.

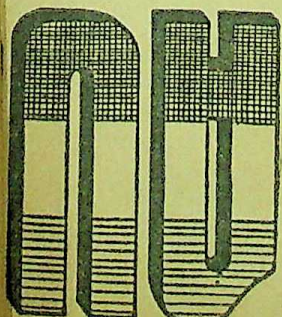
Foodgrains p

Over 18 lakh

All-time reco

Complete Pe

PUNJ





'Ba

Those of us  
days of the fr  
much miss so  
slogans which  
to public gat  
Who can forg  
do of a Zind  
of throats in  
rous Inqilab  
tant? Bandem  
enrous as a r  
motherland. T  
rengé Ya Mo  
the pledge  
when the '42  
very foundat  
empire.

Both as a  
Bandematram  
cry. Bandem  
patriotic so  
Bankim Ch  
famous Beng  
The story  
of the Sa  
cants) again  
pany in the  
18th centu  
which this  
novel is its  
peal.

The sto  
since then  
dian stru  
right to sin  
this slogan  
casions as  
ment of fr  
minions o  
and order  
against Ba  
agitation t  
tion of Be  
the presen  
Bandemat  
ned.

To wha  
In those o  
magic of  
seen from  
gal Gove  
which pr  
slogan in  
processio  
in Novem  
zar Patri  
lice had  
body w  
matram.  
ticularly  
pressive  
tal wor  
freedom  
Roll of



# 'Bandematram' Unnerved

## Britishers

Those of us who remember the days of the freedom struggle very much miss some of the inspiring slogans which gave life and soul to public gatherings at that time. Who can forget the rising crescendo of a Zindabad from thousands of throats in response to a vigorous Inqilab from a young militant? Bandematram was raised in as much as a mass salutation to the motherland. There was also Kareenge Ya Marengo (Do or Die), the pledge that the nation took when the '42 movement shook the very foundations of the British empire.

Both as a slogan and as a song, Bandematram became our battle cry. Bandematram is the title of a patriotic song written by Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in his famous Bengali novel Anand Math. The story deals with the revolt of the Sanyasis (Hindu mendicants) against the East India Company in the fourth quarter of the 18th century. The context in which this song appears in the novel is itself powerful in its appeal.

The story of Bandematram since then is the story of the Indian struggle for freedom. The right to sing this song or to raise this slogan became on several occasions as big an issue as achievement of freedom itself because the minions of the imperialist law and order let loose all their fury against Bandematram. During the agitation that followed the partition of Bengal in the beginning of the present century, the slogan Bandematram was officially banned.

To what extent the bureaucracy in those days was unnerved by the magic of Bandematram, will be seen from the orders of the Bengal Government passed in 1905 which prohibited shouting of this slogan in public places and in processions. In one of its issues in November 1905, the Amrita Bazar Patrika reported that the police had threatened flogging if anybody was seen shouting Bandematram. Young students were particularly made target of these repressive orders. In his monumental work on the history of the freedom movement in India, The Roll of Honour, Mr. K. C. Ghosh

gives the instance of an overzealous bureaucrat who in 1906 ordered the students to copy out five hundred times the directive not to shout Bandematram as a test of loyalty and good behaviour.

But history has shown that repression contains the seeds of its own negations. The slogan Bandematram ultimately became a war cry which was on the lips of many a martyr.

### Revolutionary Songs

Like Bandematram, Inqilab Zindabad has also an inspiring background. It gained countrywide popularity after the bomb explosion on April 8, 1929, in the then Central Legislative Assembly. In response to the call made by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army of India, two of its leading members, Sardar Bhagat Singh and Mr. B. K. Dutt, hurled the bomb from the visitors' gallery on

By RAJENDRA

the official benches and raised the slogan of Inqilab Zindabad ('Long Live Revolution').

The developments that followed this incident helped to popularise the slogan. Sardar Bhagat Singh and Mr. B. K. Dutt shouted Inqilab Zindabad in the court. This slogan, in fact, reached every nook and corner of the country every day with the proceedings of the case against these young men. They made it their sacred ritual to enter the court shouting this slogan which was invariably followed by the recitation of revolutionary songs. The presiding officers in the courts, assisted by the police, tried their best to prevent the accused from shouting these slogans. But the revolutionaries were made of a different mould.

The courts, in fact, became an open forum for the propagation of this slogan. The martyrdom of Jatin Das, who died in the struggle for securing the basic amenities for political prisoners, also added to the popularity of the slogan.

The body of this martyr was taken by his grateful countrymen all the way from Lahore to Calcutta and everywhere people paid their homage by shouting Inqilab Zindabad.

This slogan for once shook a mighty empire to its very foundations. Inqilab Zindabad was on the lips of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev when on the fateful evening of March 23, 1931, they kissed the hangman's noose. Since then it became a hallowed war cry of the Indian patriots. It always reminded the nation of "Deeds which should not

Fass away  
And names that must not  
wither."

### The Watchword

As the will to achieve Independence reached its climax, the people's determination was shown by these two words Kareenge Ya Marengo — either we shall free India or we shall die in the attempt. This slogan became the watchword of the Quit India movement.

The "Do or Die" call was given by Gandhiji himself. Addressing the Bombay session of the All-India Congress Committee after the adoption of the Quit India demand in August 1942, the Father of the Nation said, inter alia,

"Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is 'Do or Die.' We shall either free India or die in the attempt. . . . Let every man and woman live every moment of his or her life hereafter in the consciousness that he or she eats or lives for achieving the freedom and will die, if need be, to attain that goal."

Gandhiji also gave this "Do or Die" slogan in his instructions to Congressmen which he dictated to Pyarelal just before being taken away by the police on the morning of August 9, 1942. He said, "Let every non-violent soldier of freedom write out the slogan 'Do or Die' on a piece of cloth or paper and stick it on his clothes."

The nation's response to this slogan was quite warm. Sixty

Continued on page 10 col. 4

tion to defeat an old socialist Mirza Ibrahim in Lahore. Policemen have clashed with policemen in Karachi.

Whatever slogans of welfare they may mouth several among them are feudal in their approach some of them possess ing more than 20,000 acres of land each. Even otherwise so far.



**N**OTHING  
change  
neither  
termination  
power nor  
tion in no  
When I w  
heard tha  
"explosive  
up" was  
People w  
prophecy  
Islamabad  
There  
that has  
vity has  
court in  
"extremi  
designate  
the press  
thousands  
to report  
speeches  
Genera  
summed p  
to hold  
complete  
five and  
ger than  
normally  
ly has r  
down.  
But no  
club or  
are not  
For the  
over Ge  
from all  
The t  
for the  
racy (M  
flag of  
ls und  
People's  
tional I  
Khan a  
Marsha  
are the  
ing for  
miat. Is  
till rec  
support  
difficul  
kind o  
forced  
rule th

Stirring

There  
to ind  
of Pak  
ed. I  
countr  
tions  
shrink  
practic  
habeas  
consti  
where  
who o

Eve  
lawye  
dated  
dered  
they  
black  
in Le  
pura  
the r  
tists'  
cket  
Pakis  
the  
the s

Zia  
mi  
ba  
tic  
ali  
po  
inc  
Isl  
sh  
ce  
th  
co  
West  
WEP  
many  
ed th  
e-Tu  
of pr  
Ins  
labo  
ways  
ernm  
tion  
Mirz  
Poli  
poli



# Pakistan revisited-I

## IS GEN. ZIA'S TIME UP?

By KULDIP NAYAR

NOTHING appears to have changed in Pakistan; neither the military's de-termination to stick to power nor the people's frustration in not being able to oust it. When I was there a year ago I heard that the situation was "explosive" and that a "blow up" was only a matter of days. People were making the same prophecy in Karachi Lahore and Islamabad.

There still was the regime that has banned political activity has set up a martial law court in every district to detain "extremists" without trial has designated army men to 'advise' the press and has deployed thousands of intelligence men to report on the movements and speeches of even villagers.

General Zia-ul-Haq who assumed power with the promise to hold elections in 90 days has completed his military rule of five and a half years a term longer than elected representatives normally have in office and clearly has no intention of stepping down.

But now there is not a home club or restaurant where abuses are not heaped on Gen. Zia. For the first time since his takeover Gen. Zia is under pressure from all sides to order the poll.

The two-year-old Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which has kept the flag of the people's rule flying is undaunted. The Pakistan People's Party of Bhutto the National Democratic Party of Wali Khan and Tehrik Isqal of Air Marshal Asghar Khan which are the MRD members are pressing for elections; so is the Jamiat Islami fairly strong and till recently Gen. Zia's ardent supporter. It looks as if it is difficult for him to escape some kind of poll and he may be forced to seek legitimacy for his rule this very year.

### Stirrings

There are also enough stirrings to indicate that every segment of Pakistan society is exasperated. Lawyers throughout the country have held demonstrations to protest against the shrinking of avenues for their practice following a ban on the habeas corpus petitions and the constitution of Shariat courts where it is mostly the maulvis who do the pleading.

Even in the matter of dress the lawyers are made to feel intimidated—the Government has ordered them to wear achkan but they have continued to wear the black robe in protest. Students in Lahore Rawalpindi Sheikhupura and Sianwal have been on the rampage as—it was the rightists' turn—during the last cricket Test between India and Pakistan. And the fact that the 'progressives' have captured the student unions in the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) Sind minus Karachi and many towns of Punjab and ousted the pro-establishment Jamiat-e-Tulba indicates an expression of protest.

Instances of unrest among labour particularly in the railways are many because the government rigged the union election to defeat an old socialist Mirza Ibrahim in Lahore. Policemen have clashed with policemen in Karachi.

There is a proposal to equate the evi- he has done more "harm" to dence of two women with that of one man. They are not tak- the Jamiat is considered pro- ing things lying down and there government. Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed a Jamiat leader admitted that "the general im- pression about us is that we are with Gen. Zia and that has harmed us the most".

The order to wear a chaddar on head is hardly obey- There may be a connection between the Jamiat and Gen. Zia because the regime connives at its activities and has en- abled and Lahore more women bare-headed than ever before, at its activities and has en- couraged it to penetrate into the countryside with the Saudi- TV financed cadre. Only Mrs. Begum Nusrat Bhutto's widow and Benazir his daughter have kept intact credi- bility. If ever free elections are held the PPP led by the "two ladies" as they are referred to, will sweep the polls in Sind, Punjab and possibly the NWFP. Air Marshal Asghar Khan is another one who is res- pected though his party the Tehrik Isqal does not possess the dynamism of the same type as the Pakistan People's Party has.

### Brutalities

There is no doubt that the people are yet reluctant to come out in the streets. These are the same people who defied the military might in 1977 when Bhutto used it to curb the stir

### Alternative

Gen. Zia has also made the emergence of a political alterna- tive difficult; he preempts any kind of expression by arresting the leaders before a meeting or function. Various leaders are confined to their home states; Wali Khan to the NWFP; Ghus Bizenjo to Baluchistan and Begum Nusrat till she was allowed to go abroad for treatment to Sind. Benazir is under house arrest in Sind and Air Marshal Asghar Khan in Abbottabad.

However, they are said to have come to an understanding on the division of seats if and when the elections are held. Accord- ing to the secretary of the MRD Khwaja Khairuddin Begum Bhutto has agreed that her Pakistan People's Party would contest only 80 out of the 200 seats leaving the rest to the other opposition parties (under Pakistan's 1973 constitution even Gen. Zia says has not been able to abrogate the National Assembly is to have 200 seats). Also according to Mr Khairuddin the MRD if re- turned to power will form a national government for five years.

## BETWEEN THE LINES

What has happened is that the bruta- lities the military has committed have created fear in the mind of the public. Detentions without trial have crossed the figure of 60,000 since Gen. Zia's takeover even now 30,000 people including 150 women are in jail. In- stances of whipping are more than 25,000 according to a human rights supporter who has kept a faithful record every district.

Karachi has been left alone which even Gen. Zia says has been able to port not been able to abrogate the National Assembly is to have 200 seats). Also according to Mr Khairuddin the MRD if re- turned to power will form a national government for five years.

The breakaway movements have strengthened the military hold. Mr. GM Sayed who wants an independent Sind is the most popular man in that state; the young particularly have been attracted to his move- ment. In Karachi the Sindhis make no secret of the fact that they would not have anything to do with Pakistan if the Pun- jabis (who constitute 80 per cent in the armed forces) are to be the arbiters of their destiny.

Balance of power in the armed forces are to be the arbiters of their destiny. Baluchistan where radical stu- dents are active wants autonomy. Kher Baksh Merri a respected Baluchi leader has crossed into Kabul and he is reported to be assembling a guerilla force. A MRD leader told me that it was the demand by the provinces for more powers that brought the back the military and "now they are needed to hold the country together".

Probably elections can push back the movement for provin- cial autonomy or independence approach some of them possess- ing more than 20,000 acres of But there is no indication of it and each. Even otherwise so far.



## Pakistan revisited—II

## DESIRE TO MAKE UP WITH INDIA

By KULDIP NAYAR

THERE are two levels of relationship between India and Pakistan: Government to Government and people to people. Both have undergone a perceptible change, from war-like to peace-like. But there is a difference in their approach as well as expression.

The Government attitude is cautious and reserved and the expression is in such language that it often reflects a tactical stand. At times, it looks as if the presence of the Soviets in Afghanistan has forced Islamabad to neutralise at least the eastern border, the one with India. And even New Delhi suspects that freed from its pressure, General Zia may graze in different pastures and may try to play a role in the Gulf. (He already has a division of troops in Saudi Arabia to bolster the regime there).

The popular response is different; it is effusive somewhat emotional but pragmatic. The people in Sind have always been liberal and even when the killings were the order of the day in the wake of partition in 1947, the province did not soil its hands in the communal carnage. The domination of the Punjabis in Pakistan—and the execution of their 'own' Zulfikar Ali Bhutto—has further pushed the Sindhis to assert their entity which is Sindhi and not Islamic in its concept. Gen. Zia's refusal to open the Sind-Rajasthan border through Khokrapar has infuriated them and they plan to submit a petition with lakhs of signatures to press this demand.

The North Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan never had animosity to India or, for that matter, to the Hindus. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a fatherly figure in the NWFP, had saved the state from communalism even when it was raging in the two Punjab of the sub-continent. Like Sind, both Baluchistan and the NWFP have many Hindus and they are more or less considered part and parcel of the life, culture and tradition of the two provinces.

However, sixty per cent of Pakistan's 5 million population is that of Punjabis. A Punjab Muslim's relationship was that of love and hate. But he has realised, more so after the 1971 Bangladesh war, that his dream of flying Pakistan's flag at Red Fort would never come true and that his claim that four Hindus were equal to one Muslim was a myth he had nourished unrealistically for years. Now he is in fact afraid of India's might and size. He realises he can be defeated. He wants to live in peace and save what is left of his country since the loss of East Pakistan.

Peace is important for him, because he enjoys a high standard of living which hostilities would affect. 'After every war, we go back by five years', most Punjabis tell you. Trade certainly would be preferable to war.

In fact, there is desire to do business with India, 'without being exploited', as they put it. India's industrial progress is praised and the fact that Pakistan not producing even ordinary consumer goods is galling. (Bazars are flooded with imported goods from Hong Kong, Japan and America).

And there is anxiety that they

must build up their country, if possible with India's technical help, before the flow of aid and remittances from abroad that has brought affluence dries up.

The new generation, born after partition, does not feel that his religion is being threatened by India; it resists the dose of Islamisation that Gen. Zia administers through TV, radio and even

if people watch Indian movies three million people are exposed to the Indian way of life and culture, even if only the 'film' version. A better use of the Amritsar TV station could pay India some dividends but its main obsession is with what the Government and its leaders say, not with the Indian way of life or culture.

Since Islamabad's policy now is to be friendly, it has not taken action against the 'misuse' of videos, though the showing of Indian films on video is banned. Lately, the Pakistan Government is keen on having an atmosphere of cordiality, if not friendship, with India.

For the last few months, whenever there have been Hindu-Muslim riots in India, the 'advice' of the Government to the press has been to display the 'news underlines. The cartoons about Mrs. Gandhi, which used to appear in bad taste, have been stopped. Even the criticism of the regime has to be soft-pedalled.

Kashmir is seldom mentioned either in private conversation or in the press. Even though Gen. Zia told me that the 'frenzy' in Kashmir could be revised at any time, I wonder if this is possible, particularly when his word evokes no support and when an average Pakistani knows that India has fought three wars on Kashmir and will not refrain from having another round if there is a challenge over Kashmir again.

There is no doubt that Gen. Zia is keen on a no-war pact with India. This could be because of the pressure of public opinion or because of some tactical considerations, for he has much to gain from such a pact.

The opposition leaders—whether Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, President, National Democratic Party, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of the Pakistan People's Party, Prof. Ghaffoor Ahmad, Nabh Amir, Jamiat Islami, Khwaja Khairuddin, secretary-general of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) or Mr. Miraj Mohammed Khan President of Qaumi Mohaz-i-Azadi—said that a no-war pact with 'a military man' did not 'behave a democratic India'. They think such a pact will strengthen Gen. Zia and he might use it to put off the return of democracy in Pakistan.

I personally feel that Gen. Zia's gain, if any, will be temporary. The conclusion of a no-war pact will change the atmosphere in Pakistan and may unleash such forces as may ask the military to go back to the barracks. New Delhi's insistence that Islamabad give an undertaking not to offer bases to any foreign power and not to mention bilateral issues in any world forum evokes little interest in Pakistan. What may evoke response is the softening of borders and the building of trade ties. Had these two conditions been tagged to a no-war pact offer, the people of Pakistan would have been on New Delhi's side.

It appears that Pakistan may ultimately come round to marrying its draft of the no-war pact with that of India's Peace and Friendship Treaty despite Gen. Zia's stand that he would not 'surrender' his country's sovereignty.

## BETWEEN THE LINES

the press. 'I am a Muslim and what I do is between my Allah and me,' many young men and women told me in Islamabad and Lahore.

The Jamiat Islami, blessed by the military regime, does point out the differences, if not hatred, between Hindus and Muslims. And even the books prescribed emphasise the same aspect.

For example, history for Pakistan children begins with the advent of Islam and the earlier period of civilisation reflected in Mohenjodaro in Sind or Taxila in Punjab is omitted. The school textbooks of history, Islamic Studies and Social Studies have a strong anti-India slant. Some distort facts.

The book on Social Studies for class IV says on page 8: 'At the time of establishment of Pakistan the Muslims residing in India started migrating to Pakistan and Hindus residing in Pakistan to India. Muslims allowed the Hindus and Sikhs to leave Pakistan peacefully, but the Hindus and Sikhs committed untold atrocities on the Muslims leaving India. They killed children, men and women, old and young alike mercilessly, and looted their properties.'

Still a substantial segment of youth is turning liberal and revolting against the Jamiat Islami and what it stands for. There is a pronounced sentiment in favour of democracy as well as admiration for India for having preserved it. 'We have a chance to return to democracy if you are able to save it in your uncertain periods ahead,' the politicians, editors and intellectuals told me when I met them in different parts of Pakistan.

Many students want to travel through India and meet the people of this country. Their problem may be how to get passport from their Government and visa from the Indian Government which like Pakistan, limits visits from across the border to specified cities.

Since books and newspapers and journals from India are not permitted into Pakistan, the ignorance of students and even others about their neighbour is astounding. Indian broadcasts and telecasts could be a source of information but the programmes are so dull and so full of Government propaganda that most people switch off their sets after listening to music or watching a movie.

Video is perhaps the widest easement opening on India. The top generals who have otherwise associated themselves with the decision to ban Indian films see three lakh videos in Pakistan and even if on average only 10

EA

re w d

o f

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t

s t



# EAST AND WEST HAVE YET TO MEET AND FEEL AS ONE

By DILIP MUKERJEE

THE strains between the East and the West wings of Pakistan stem mainly from economic factors, similar to those applicable to other countries. But the separatism which causes much concern to the central Government in Islamabad is the result of psychological factors, rooted in history.

As President Ayub Khan sees it, the psychological cleavage is attributable to the "considerable Hindu cultural and linguistic influence" over the Bengalis. This theory may suit his book; he has always dismissed East Pakistan's demand for autonomy as subversive and anti-national, implying that it is raised at the instigation of India. But the explanation does not wash: the East Pakistani Muslims' antipathy to the Hindus, based on the memories of exploiting Hindu Zamindars and the urban rich, have probably more substance than pre-partition communal antagonism in Punjab or Sind.

If there is today little antagonism in East Pakistan between the Hindus (constituting 20% of that Wing's population) and Muslims, it is because the Hindus offer no competition in any walk of life. Of the several hundred gazetted officers located in Dacca, not one is a Hindu. There is also a new Bengali solidarity abroad, a byproduct of anti-West feelings.

## ROOTS OF DISGRUNTLEMENT

A more plausible explanation for disaffection is offered by President Ayub's principal lieutenant in East Pakistan, Mr Abdul Monem Khan, Governor of the province. This remarkably energetic septuagenarian traced for me the roots of disgruntlement to the historic neglect of the area on the wrong side of the Ganga in Hindu, Muslim and British times. Warming to this theme, he went back to Hindu mythology to pick the phrase "Pandava-barjito desh" (the land shunned by the Pandavas) to buttress his theory that centuries of neglect have given the East Bengali a built-in sense of grievance.

Spanning several periods of history in the course of a few minutes, he brought up the fact that there were only three Bengali Muslims in the ICS at the time of partition; the number in other senior services was equally small. As a result, East Pakistan had to take in a very large number of administrators from West Pakistan, as also from among refugees who crossed over from Bihar. This led to resentment, not least because the 1940 resolution in which the Muslim League first raised the demand for partition had spoken of independent groupings of Muslim States, one in the East and the other in the West. The League was at that time thinking of the whole of Assam and Bengal forming the eastern unit, and not the truncated province that was eventually conceded to Pakistan.

President Ayub's summary dismissal of East Pakistan's grievances as the work of "considerable Hindu cultural and linguistic influences" is unjust. A more plausible explanation lies in the historic neglect of the eastern wing. During the time of partition there were only three Bengali Muslim ICS men in the whole cadre with the result that a very large number of administrators had to be transferred to the eastern wing to run the administration. Attempts are being made to remove the imbalance now. The present political system is equally responsible for the psychological feeling of neglect by East Pakistanis who feel that things are being ordered for them from the western wing. The presence of East Pakistanis in Mr Ayub's Cabinet is offset by the realization that they are not the choice of the people. The immediate motivation for the demand for autonomy by East Pakistan is a demand for a proper share in the spoils. Though a larger investment is now being made in the public sector, the private sector has genuine cause for grievance. Lastly, the grievances arise from the fact of geography.

"a considerable measure of partnership".

If his gestures have failed to remove disaffection or the feelings of separatism, it is the limitations of his political system that are to blame. Given the bias for a strong Centre running through Pakistan's Constitution, and the control and authority that has in practice vested in the President, East Pakistan can hardly be blamed for feeling that all the vital decisions are being made for it by a distant Islamabad. Although the President's Cabinet has as many Bengalis as the others put together, the feeling of alienation persists—possibly due to the fact that the Ministers are not East Pakistan's chosen representatives but the President's nominees.

A sense of participation in power does not therefore have a chance to develop, inhibiting the political evolution that might have taken place under a different system. Comparisons may be invidious but if the DMK's secessionist proclivities are now only an inconsequential memory, it is because non-Brahmins in Madras were successfully brought into the structure of power—first by the Congress and then by the DMK itself.

Separatism in the East is sometimes seen in India as the natural revolt of democratic elements against one-man rule. This is a facile generalization, even though it is true that East Pakistan is certainly much more politically evolved than the Western wing. In some ways, the conjunction of the East and the West is like putting Kerala and Haryana in tandem.

## IMMEDIATE MOTIVATION

But it should surprise no one

if other foreign Powers decided to take a hand. It was suggested to me by the same Bengali observer I quoted above that this was indeed the case with regard to this particular conspiracy.

It is fortunate for President Ayub that he has, unlike most other leaders of Asia, a cordial relationship with Peking. East Pakistan might otherwise already have been the locale of a national liberation movement, starting from the tribes living on its fringes. Taking advantage of its present immunity, Pakistan can afford to aid and abet restive tribals in India. But this is playing with fire; a few in Pakistan are ready to concede that but they wring their hands in helplessness at the fact that hostility within the subcontinent leaves Pakistan no option but to turn a blind eye to the danger of China's incursion.

To turn now to East Pakistan's economic grievances against the West, the point to note is that many of them have been overtaken by events. True, disparity in personal incomes is still rising, even though growth rate in East Pakistan has increased from 4% in 1960-65 to 6% in the first three years of the current plan. West Pakistan's growth rate is estimated at 6% in these three years, against 6% in the previous five—implying that disparity is widening, although much more slowly than before.

It is noteworthy however that East Pakistan has received in these three years 53% of the investment in the public sector, excluding those made on Indus Basin works (which are, it is argued, in the nature of replacements for the canal flows that India will reserve for itself under the treaty). In any case, it is now intended to treat future investments on these works plus the new Tarbela dam as expenditures benefiting West Pakistan.

In relation to private investment however, East Pakistan is indeed badly off. Although it was the planners' intention that both wings should have an equal share, the fact is that only 22% of the investment has gone to the East—despite longer tax holidays, a preferential rate of Customs duty (25% against 35%) for capital goods, and concessional rates on loans from public financing institutions. It is now conceded that the incentives for stimulating private enterprise are perhaps not strong enough to offset the handicaps of a poorly developed infrastructure, a smaller market, and the lack of local entrepreneurs.

East Pakistan, not unlike Kerala, had the grievance that although it contributed 60% or more to the country's exports its share in imports was less than 50%. But this too is now changing. The rapid growth of manufactured exports, under the stimulus of bonus vouchers,

(To be continued)



circumstances. If there was no UNO or UNESCO, we would have to create them. But having established them, it would be a sheer folly to weaken them in any manner whatsoever. Let us learn lessons from history and try to strengthen the UNO and its various agencies by all means at our disposal."

Mr Gough Whitlam, Australian ambassador to UNESCO, referred to the wide-ranging reviews of UNESCO undertaken by five working groups and by the temporary committee. (Britain was an active member of the temporary committee). Mr Whitlam also said that there must be a better way to change the constitution of an organisation than by seceding from the organisation.

Some of the UNESCO watchers had hoped that Britain will respond to these appeals in the changed context. They had also hoped that Mrs Thatcher's government would not ignore the wishes of the Commonwealth members or of the members of the EEC. Only in November envoys of all Commonwealth countries had met the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and urged him to reconsider the decision.

By deciding to ignore its EEC partners, Britain has demonstrated that on issues which divide Europe and the U.S., it sides with the US and by showing scant regard for the third world and the Commonwealth partners the British government has struck a blow at an historic relationship.

Equally serious is the manner in which Mrs Thatcher has chosen to ignore the strong political and public opinion within Britain. The former Prime Minister, Edward Heath, had earlier commented on

"on worthwhile educational and cultural projects" is a clear indication of Britain joining with the US to strengthen only bilateral arrangements with other countries or to initiate the launching of a parallel system. Powerful media in these countries will be used to demoralise UNESCO and to widely spread the message that the organisation is inefficient, overpoliticised and indulges in obscure programming.

This can be the beginning of UNESCO's disintegration. Much will depend upon the implementation of reforms and on director-general's capacity to carry the support of the rest of the world. His role has become crucial to the future of the organisation.

## Gorbachov urges US to halt all N-tests

MOSCOW, December 29 (AP): The Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail S. Gorbachov, urged the United States to halt all nuclear tests while a high-ranking military official wrote in Pravda yesterday that such a moratorium would help spur nuclear disarmament.

Mr Gorbachov's comments on Friday at a Kremlin reception for foreign ambassadors and the article by first deputy defence minister, Mr Vasili Petrov, were the latest salvoes in an escalating Kremlin campaign over the Soviet's moratorium on nuclear tests, which expires on December 31.



# Future Of UNESCO

## In Doubt

By N.L. CHOWLA

BRITAIN will cease to be a member of UNESCO at the end of December, exactly a year after the U.S. withdrawal became effective. Quite obviously, Britain would never have quit the world body if America had not done so. It was not a mere coincidence that Britain's foreign secretary made the announcement of his country's intention to withdraw from UNESCO the day the U.S. quit the organisation. Within a few days thereafter, the minister of overseas development, Mr Timothy Raison, addressed a letter to Dr M Bow, director general of UNESCO, accusing UNESCO of being a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas favouring state control of the media and of one sided propaganda on disarmament.

He expressed his government's disapproval of "a number of tendencies developing inside the organisation", which as he put it "are not in UNESCO's long-term interests or compatible with the original aims". He also objected to the political aspect of certain programmes of UNESCO and the growing size of UNESCO's budget. In substance, these charges were the same as those made by the U.S. secretary of state, Mr George D. Schultz, in his letter to UNESCO director-general notifying the US government's decision to withdraw from the organisation.

However, the situation relating to the British decision is different in some major aspects. First, in the meantime, UNESCO had committed itself to certain reforms at its recent general conference at Sofia. It had produced a packed, action-oriented programme for 1986-87. The new budget marked a zero growth in real terms and called for a freeze on one-quarter of UNESCO's projects costing an equivalent of America's contribution for the organisation. The budget was passed unanimously at the Sofia conference.

### Sofia Conference

The recommendations of the temporary committee earlier set up by the UNESCO board, suggesting certain reforms and the need for continually monitoring UNESCO projects and programmes, were also accepted. In fact, the Sofia conference decided to establish a committee for the evaluation of projects and to map out specific details. The conference was also able to dispose of a most controversial issue when it resolved to let American employees of UNESCO stay on, overcoming objections that the presence of a non-member country's nationals would upset a system of country-wise job quotas. Also a consensus resolution, worked out after long negotiations by a working group headed by India, recommended granting observer status to the USA.

These gestures should have mollified Britain. The delegates also made direct appeal to the British government to reconsider its decision to quit UNESCO. Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, leader of the Indian delegation, also made a direct appeal when he said: "Such a trend will only herald the disintegration of the UN system and of multilateral co-operation which the world cannot afford under any cir-

the British government's intention in these words: "What the rest of the world will think is that we have finally gone back into our hole of a nasty, squalid and petty nationalism and unless everybody does exactly what we say and when we say it we are going to have nothing whatever we do with them. This will disappoint in particular, the developing world."

Mr Raison's announcement was described as shabby and disgraceful by the Labour Party. The leader of the Social Democratic Party called it "a mindless decision". Earlier some of the most eminent scientists, writers, actors and performers, including Dr Joseph Needham, Graham Greene, Peter Tstinov and Sir Yahudi Menuhin, had strongly opposed the Thatcher government's intention to withdraw from UNESCO.

It may be recalled that earlier this year the House of Commons' foreign affairs committee, too, had concluded in its report that Britain should not withdraw, as that would harm the country's relations with the Commonwealth nations as well as give the Soviet Union a greater hold on the third world.

### UK's Contribution

British contribution to UNESCO budget is about 5 per cent. Taken together with the loss of U.S. contribution, UNESCO will now have to make do with 30 per cent less than it previously had. The hope that some other countries, including the oil producing ones, will make this shortfall good has been belied. Voluntary donations from them do not add up to much. It is known that some other major donors, particularly Japan which contributes 10 per cent of UNESCO's budget, have also been debating whether to continue their membership or not.

Although Japan has regretted the British decision, it does not appear to have taken a final decision of its own. In a recent visit to Japan this writer gathered the impression that the Japanese delegation to Sofia was not fully satisfied with the set of reforms and changes accepted at the conference. A senior journalist said "Japan's notice to withdraw would speed up reforms."

What then is the future of UNESCO? The financial crisis cannot be underestimated. UNESCO staff association has already protested against any threats of staff reduction. The association members have lodged a protest personally against the director general alleging an arbitrary handling of financial and personal crisis. Some newspapers including *Le Monde* have opened that the leadership of the UNESCO director-general has become seriously compromised. Under the leadership of the US, Britain and Singapore (which has also quit UNESCO) pressure has been built up to seek Mr M Bow resignation. The developing countries, on the other hand, have so far expressed full confidence in his stewardship.

UNESCO crisis is no longer a minor side-issue. It threatens to divide the member-nations on matters of policies as well as personality. The British government decision to spend £ 5.5 million, Britain's annual contribution to UNESCO,

people and power grabbers rather than for power. The game of of Saurashtra with Bombay, was his

(To Be Concluded)





bi  
be  
Inc  
pra  
tan  
cons  
zars  
goods  
and A  
And

... anxiety that they and even if on average only 10 ... stand that he would ... the man ...



## India's Struggle for Cerebral Emancipation

It is perhaps true that the plunder of Bengal helped the Industrial Revolution in England. But once the flying shuttle appeared, the spinning jenny was invented or as soon as the power loom was patented and the steam engine was perfected—and all these took place within a short period of fifty or sixty years—we in India ought to have realised that behind the political prowess of the English lay their advanced scientific knowledge. Did we care to acquire knowledge in this direction?

What, certainly, did receive a shock in India is the faith in traditional religions. It has been mentioned earlier how Henry Derozio's teachings worked as a catalytic agent. Many young men found solace in agnosticism and a few in Christianity. Why did they embrace Christianity? They thought that the traditional religions were unable to meet the challenges of the age, that it was these religions which were responsible for stagnation and decay. To a certain extent, it was true. But how could religion be held responsible for this degradation? The truth was that people had ceased to be creative: easy life, lack of ambition and the crushing load of poverty and ignorance were the real causes of social decadence. There was no sound educational policy.

But a few enlightened Indians were nevertheless aware of the causes of the downfall. Among them the name of Raja Rammohun Roy stands out prominently. When the Hindu College was established it was he who presented a petition to Lord Amherst criticising the Orientalist policy of education. Rammohun Roy wrote: "If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to replace the system of the Schoolmen which was best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning, educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, implements and other apparatus." All the same the Raja's principal field of activity was religious and social reform. A man of wide learning and varied experience, a linguist of great merit and a diplomat, a staunch believer in Occidental science and learning, a great social reformer, his place is very high among the builders of modern India.

### REFORMING SOCIETY

The other two persons who should be mentioned in this connection are Mirza Abu Talib Khan (1752-1807) and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98). Sir Syed's faith in English education is too well known. By his criticism of the contemporary Muslim society, his strong disapproval of social taboos and his enlightened interpretation of Islam, he really brought about a silent revolution among his fellow believers.

Mirza Abu Talib Khan is, in a way, a fascinating personality. Born in Lucknow in 1752 of Turkish and Persian descent, he became friends with the Nawabs of Bengal. He accompanied an Englishman to Europe when he was over forty. There he came in contact with many celebrities; he was presented to King George III, met the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended a banquet of the Lord Mayor of London and came back to Calcutta after three years of travel. Originally written in Persian his *Travels* was translated by Major Stewart.

The number of Indians genuinely interested in the intellectual life of Europe was unfortunately negligible; many were interested only in religious and social reform. Rammohun

Roy's Atmiya Sabha was founded in 1816; Brahmo Samaj came into existence in 1828; Devendranath Tagore's Tatwabodhini Sabha was founded in 1839; and Kashi Prasad Ghosh started the Dharma Sabha in 1838. Keshab Chandra Sen left Devendranath Tagore's organisation in 1865 and the Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay in 1867. The Arya Samaj came into existence in 1875 and the Theosophical Society was established in 1879. Subsequently came the Ahmadiya movement, the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement and the Bhakti movement of Bijoy Krishna Goswami.

The 19th century also saw great literary activity. Modern Indian languages enriched by their contacts with English gained a new life. The development of prose is undoubtedly the most significant event. A mere catalogue of names is sufficient to convince anybody of the rebirth of literary creations. The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerji edited the first encyclopaedia in Bengali, *Vidyakalpadruma*, in 13 volumes in 1850. Bengali prose owes a good deal to the genius of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-73) and Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-73) wrote epics and dramas. And then came Bankimchandra Chatterjee (1838-94).

The rise of modern Urdu prose can be traced back to the thirties of the last century. The Parsis in Bombay showed considerable skill in matters of organisation and management of the stage and several Urdu dramatists owe their success to them.

Wazid Ali Shah's court (1847-56) was a great centre of all arts. There were Hali (1837-1914), Muhammad Husain Azad (1832-1910), Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar of Lucknow (1846-1902), Munshi Nawal Kishore (1835-94), Maulvi Zakauallah (1832-1910), Hafiz Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912) and Maulvi Chirag Ali.

In Hindi literature, Bharatendu Harish Chandra shone like a bright star.

### FIRST EFFORTS

This was also the period in which Indians started taking keen interest in their own history, archaeology and classical languages. Bhau Daji (1821-74) may be said to be the first Indian archaeologist. Rajendra Lal Mitra (1824-91) was an eminent scholar of history. Khuda Baksh founded the Oriental Library at Patna and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar founded the Institute that took his name in 1917. Kashinath Telang was famous for his researches in Maharashtrian history, and Sanskrit language and literature. Maulvi Zakauallah published his monumental *History of India*, Amir Ali wrote his *History of the Saracens* and published his famous *Spirit of Islam* in 1891. Maulana Shibli Nomani gained fame by his researches in Muslim history, Persian and Urdu literature.

In science and technology, however, the progress was comparatively negligible. That was because there was no tradition of scientific education. Had there been a well-defined system of scientific or secular education, with the contact of the Europeans there would have been some sort of an attempt to challenge the superiority of the foreigners. The continued emphasis on literary and theological education was responsible for the shortsighted vision of the Indian mind in those days.

During the 17th century, called "The Century of Genius" by Whitehead, Europe saw such great scientists and thinkers like Bacon, Harvey, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Huyghens, Boyle, Newton, Locke, Spinoza and Leibniz. It has been said that modern mathematics was born during the period 1637-87. The 18th century saw Lavoisier and Dalton, the founders of modern chemistry, Lagrange and Gauss, the mathematicians, and Kant, the philosopher. The first modern atlas published by Ortelius under the title *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* had been in circulation for over two centuries when the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established. By the time the Hindu College was established in Calcutta, the Royal Society was more than 150 years old. Montesquieu was dead for nearly sixty years and Voltaire for nearly forty years when Rammohun Roy's Atmiya Sabha was founded. Not only the scientific and technological changes but changes in the political and economic thoughts abroad remained largely unnoticed in India.

(To Be Concluded)

...people and power grabbers rather than. He was chief minister of Bombay its conscience and sense of duty.  
...for power. The game of and Rasiklal Parikh, after the merger duty.  
...of Saurashtra with Bombay, was his

(To Be Concluded)





10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

...is anxiety that they and even if on average only 10 ... stand that he would ... the man ...



# Eroded Administrative System

## I-Scourge Of Transfers

By M.N. BUCH

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the long domination of a single political party and one family over the Indian polity, India has been and continues to be a democracy because the citizen feels that he has it in his power to change the ruling party through peaceful means and without resort to violence, coups d'etat or assassination.

The brutal murder of Mrs Indira Gandhi at the hands of her own security guards may possibly be viewed by some perverted people as the act of those who no longer view India as a democracy. However, even this reprehensible deed does not detract from the fact that change is possible through the constitutional process and that democracy endures in India.

If that be so, what does this assassination indicate and to what can we attribute the extremely slow reaction of the civil administration to the communal violence that followed?

Our Constitution is unique in that while, on the one hand, it codifies the checks and balances necessary for the operation of a democratic system in a country hitherto run by the British bureaucracy, on the other, it presupposes the existence of the self-discipline and regard for conventions that is hallmark of the unwritten British constitution. There is an in-built understanding that the various organs of the state will function within defined bounds and that there will be interaction but no interference. Laws would be applied even-handedly and legally constituted authority would function without fear or favour.

### Sole Criterion

Where powers are undefined, they would be exercised with restraint and always in the general interest rather than in favour of person or party. The fundamental right to equality of opportunity would totally preclude dynastism, nepotism and cronyism and merit would be the sole criterion for advancement.

The public services, in particular, are constitutionally safeguarded against nepotism by the mechanism of selection by constitutionally created public service commissions, and protected from arbitrariness by the constitutional protection to terms and conditions of service. The legislature enjoys immunity and the judiciary is beyond executive control. On paper, at least, the Indian state is organised for harmonious functioning.

Unfortunately, the last few years have seen a steady deterioration in the manner in which the system functions. Perhaps 1967, when the politics of defection began, can be treated as the watershed. There are certain fundamental requirements for the proper functioning of elective politics. There have to be parties with differing ideologies and programmes, but with the tolerance to permit other parties to operate freely. Each of these must aspire to power and this aspiration should be accepted as legitimate.

Not to allege, as the Congress has been doing in the past, that opposition parties are out to dislodge it, and then apply a derogatory value judgement to the allegation is not in keeping with elective democracy. When this is accompanied, as stated by the opposition, by the use of the governmental machinery deliberately to bolster the ruling party, the system becomes weakened.

People elected on party tickets cannot be allowed to change loyalties midstream. Elective politics based on parties means that the voter sends to the legislature not only a person of his choice but also that of the party of his choice because he likes its programme. Political parties who bribe or induce people to defect are undemocratic, anti-people and power grabbers rather than servants for power. The game of

1967 has corrupted our legislators to an extent where the legislature itself, as a pillar of the state, has been endangered. This has, in turn, played havoc with the executive and reduced the administration to a shambles.

Elective politics also requires that elected representatives understand their true constitutional role and act accordingly. The legislature represents the collective will of the people and, by selecting the political executive from the majority party, determines the form of government for a period of five years at a time. The legislature enacts laws, approves the budget and watches over the activities of the government through committees, debates and questions. In the ultimate analysis it can even rule that it no longer has confidence in the government of the day and thereby ordain a change. Collectively legislators are the final arbiters of the fate of the rulers.

What, however, the legislators cannot do is to intervene at operational levels and influence, coerce or induce officials to do their will in the ordinary routine of government. It is legitimate for legislators to bring problems to the notice of officials and to try and push projects that will benefit their constituencies.

In Britain the private member's bill is a legitimate and frequently used instrument to ventilate the grievances of citizens through parliament, and to seek remedy for the problems of even individual citizens. It is not legitimate for legislators, however, to go to a police station and tell the police whom to arrest and whom not to; to demand the transfer of officials either because the legislator has been bribed to do so or because the official is inconvenient; to try and influence the outcome of a case where decision making is quasi-judicial; or to act as intermediaries on behalf of permit seekers.

These are the areas in which a large number of Indian legislators have been operating and this has greatly weakened the administration.

### Permit Seekers

The way the system operates is pernicious. There is an ingrained fear that if the whims of the legislators are not pandered to, they will either defect or, worse still, foment trouble within the ruling party. The minister knows that what the MP/MLA is asking for is probably wrong, but he is afraid to say no. The legislator is afraid that if he does not support the applicant he will lose a vote or two. Therefore, knowing that what he is requesting is wrong, the legislator still presses his demand. Blackmarketeers, criminals and law breakers, corrupt officials, inefficient bureaucrats, exploiters and free booters, harbinger of communal enmity have all latched on to this weakness of the system and are taking full advantage of it.

Any minister who opposes the present pattern is considered a fool, any legislator who resists is denied a party ticket, any official who stands his ground is unceremoniously transferred. The politics of defection has led legislators to wholly illegitimate intervention in areas outside their jurisdiction and this, in turn, has destroyed the administrative capacity of the government.

The extent to which this cancer has spread has never been fully assessed, but it is very near terminal. At political level both nepotism and cronyism are not endemic. The malaise begins at the top and no one is immune. Every ruler is entitled to trusted lieutenants, but Mahatma Gandhi chose Nehru and Patel, not Devdas. Nehru chose Dharma Vira and Vishnu Sahay as his administrative advisers and Patel selected V.P. Menon. There is a story about Morarji Desai that bears repetition. He was chief minister of Bombay and Rasiklal Parikh, after the merger of Saurashtra with Bombay, was his

revenue minister. D.S. Bakhle of the ICS was the chief secretary and D.S. Joshi was revenue secretary. Parikh went to Desai and asked for the transfer of Joshi. Desai insisted on consulting Bakhle (incidentally Desai and Bakhle were at loggerheads over prohibition), who advised against the transfer. Desai agreed with Bakhle. At this Parikh threw a tantrum and said that he did not want Joshi as he did not like him. Morarji Desai's reply is a classic. He said, "I detest Bakhle but he is my chief secretary. What has liking got to do with the business of government?"

### Civil Service

We have systematically destroyed all logic in personnel management in government. Service has been set against service, top posts are filled by officers considered convenient or having a known reputation for supineness. India must be one of the few countries in the world where the seemingly innocuous weapon of transfer has been wielded to destroy the cohesion, elan and impartiality of the civil service as a whole.

The cabinet secretary should hang his head in shame that under his very nose, in the Central government, officers have remained without postings for months at a time; officers are graded as acceptable or unacceptable not on the basis of their service record but on the subjective whims of a few people close to the seat of power; supersessions occur because someone is considered more "loyal" than others; and even for a posting as an under-secretary officers have to curry favour with ministers and secretaries.

The department of personnel is less than a post office. Where favourites alone enjoy positions of responsibility the administration cannot be effective or efficient.

The position in the state is even more frightening than at the Centre and this is a cause of even greater worry. Central ministries deal with issues, but state governments deal with people, and it is this cutting edge of interaction which has been dangerously blunted.

In Madhya Pradesh, there have been 14 revenue secretaries in four years. A certain minister has caused to be transferred four divisional forest officers from his home district in two years, after having himself hand-picked each officer and subsequently developing a dislike for him.

Defthi has had a change of police commissioner every year during the last four years. Everytime a minister, MP, MLA or local political big-wig of the ruling party in any state feels thwarted some government official is transferred. From school teacher, police constable, forest guard and patwari right up to head of department, secretary and chief secretary, all are caught up in the web of lunatic transfers.

The tragedy is that senior officers sit quiet and acquiesce in the wholesale destruction of the administrative system. In Maharashtra the then chief secretary was a silent spectator to the deliberate and wilful demolition of a fine administrative machine by A.R. Antulay. What a difference it would make if a succession of cabinet secretaries and chief secretaries were to advise their political superiors on the impropriety of tinkering with the administration and, in the final analysis, sacrificing their careers if their advice is not heeded. The fact that they are either silent or active partners in these dark deeds leads one to conclude that at senior levels our civil service has forgotten its oath to the Constitution as well as taken leave of its conscience and sense of higher duty.

(To Be Concluded)



## II-Saving Services From Ruin

By M.N. BUCH

OUR system of government is based on rules framed under the Constitution, the "rules of business of the executive government", and the "business allocation rules". Allocated business is disposed of within the ministry or department under the authority of the minister in charge. The Prime Minister, chief minister and the council of ministers are advised by the administrative department in matters concerning it. Each minister and each secretary is as responsible a functionary as any other minister or secretary. But taking a lead from the Prime Minister's office every chief minister has also set up a personal office which, instead of assisting the C.M., actually sits in judgement over departmental advice.

Why is a private secretary or special assistant considered more competent than the departmental minister or secretary on whom rests the responsibility for both the decision and its implementation? Why are persons having no definable position in the system, and their hangers-on and touts, considered the real brokers of power?

Unless the new Prime Minister is able to dismantle the wholly unconstitutional shield of sycophancy and irresponsibility around him and his chief ministers, and return to a system of orderly government, he will be drawn into the same old vortex that threatened in the past, to engulf the government itself.

In the field, the position today is that both in the regulatory and the development administration there has been substantial deterioration. There is well-defined and codified delegation of power at various levels, but delegated powers are not permitted to be exercised. There is interference from the top, political and bureaucratic, and there are local attempts to influence decisions.

### Recovery Of Dues

Enough station house officers of the police have suffered for impartial investigation of offences for the lesson to go home; there is a class of persons who must not be touched by the police, whatever they do.

Equally harmful to the system is the posting of officials without consulting their superiors or against their positive advice. It is uniform complaint of collectors and superintendents of police that tehsildars, BDOs and SHOs manipulate their posting and, therefore, are not amenable to control. Naturally they are also not amenable to discipline, nor are they imbued with any great sense of duty.

The nexus between the corrupt officials and anti-social elements is both pronounced and strong. When subordinates look beyond their supervising officers for support, the business of government inevitably suffers. Orders are not obeyed and often openly defied. Programmes are not implemented, public funds are misapplied and every development scheme scuttled by perversion. Not only is there inefficiency, there is also colossal

waste of scarce resources. Whilst the bureaucracy is to blame for faulty implementation of schemes, it is those who have brought the bureaucracy to this sorry state who are the real culprits.

In almost every emergency the civil administration has reacted sluggishly. Natural calamities always catch district officials flat-footed and the army is summoned for assistance. There are masses of police, civil and armed, but even minor riots are not controlled and the army aid is needed. Even the British used the army, but only after the police had used all its resources and needed back-up force.

Now the district magistrate finds that the police is either a silent spectator to disorder or its response is half-hearted. Police weaponry and organisation are far superior to that of any mob and the authority to use force exactly that of the army. A dozen rioters shot on the 31st October-1st November, 1984, in Delhi, Kanpur and Indore would have totally suppressed all rioting throughout India and saved hundreds of lives. In Punjab, in 1982, correct political decisions and a vigorous administration would have stamped out violence even without army aid. But more important still, it would have prevented the sowing of the seeds of hatred which culminated in the senseless murder of a leader whose long life was so important to this unfortunate country.

### Fine Institution

Our present administration lies in ruins and it cannot respond to events such as those witnessed in early November, 1984. The police cannot act against the very persons it has been in league with over the rest of the year. A district magistrate or superintendent of police cannot arrest the so-called local leaders because some influential politicians will always intervene on their behalf and the officer's career will be ruined. Therefore, increasingly we bring in the army, not in aid of civil power, but as a substitute for it.

The army is a fine institution with a noble role to play, but running the routine administration of the country is not its job. If the army finds itself imposed upon to do the job of the civil administration, which cannot or will not function, it will create contempt on one side and resentment on the other. It will bring the army into conflict with the citizen because any law and order operation can inconvenience even a law-abiding person. And inevitably it will raise questions about the form of government suited to India and, institutionally, who or what is best able to operate it. These are dangerous alleys to venture into.

When a system approaches collapse the remedy is a very strong dose of discipline, orderliness and regulation. Honest officers must be protected and wrong-doers must be weeded out. The legislators must be placed back in their true higher role of guiding government and weaned away from administrative interference.

(Concluded)



# The Quality Of Life

Schumacher did not have the answer to every problem of this afflicted world. But the dangers inherent in rapid industrialisation were ably presented by one of the most colourful modern economists of this century.

by Govind Talwalkar

THE man who wrote *Small is Beautiful* was in search of a plan for a new world order. Spiritually he travelled from socialism to Buddhism; he had faith in the occult and ultimately entered the Catholic Church. At every stage he was fully convinced that he was on the right path.

Looking back one can say that Fritz Schumacher's life was full of contradictions. But these contradictions were those of a seeker of truth. His daughter Barbara Wood has brought all this out in a biography of her father—*Alias Papa*.

Barbara Wood is understanding, sympathetic and yet she is not blind to personal shortcomings of Schumacher. The way in which he came under the spell of socialism, Buddhism and Catholicism shows that Schumacher's heart prevailed over his head.

Fritz Schumacher came from a family of distinguished academic background. His father was a professor of economics in Germany and was frequently consulted by the then government. He was a strict disciplinarian and an intense nationalist. In World War I, the Schumacher family suffered a lot; the children were undernourished and had to be taken care of under a special government programme.

A precocious child Fritz was always ahead of his classmates in his studies. He had scant respect for the teachers and often challenged their academic authority. Even when he was sent to England for higher studies, his attitude towards his teachers did not change. After getting a Rhodes scholarship he joined Oxford University. He impressed Keynes when he wrote to him on economic subjects and later they both got on well. Schumacher always held Keynes in high esteem.

At Oxford he felt frustrated as he could not adjust to university life. Later he began to appreciate the inherent strengths of the English systems of education. He wrote "I always regret it when those few Rhodes scholars that we (Germans) have, use their time in Oxford to pursue a particular specialisation when it is the strength and purpose of the Oxford system to provide an education for citizenship..."

"I see that England's great strength lies in the availability of people for the highest position who apart from hard work in their career, have a really comprehensive education... and to concern themselves with the most general problems of human existence and society."

surge was not only inevitable but necessary. He was ready to turn a Nelson's eye on the gangsterism of Hitler's Nazi hordes. Besides, Fritz's father was law-abiding and held that the Hitler government must be obeyed as it had been legally set up. Fritz could not agree but he was in a hopeless minority. He, therefore, chose to migrate to England as he felt it was better not to cooperate with evil if one could not fight it.

In London, he joined a syndicate under a director of Unilever. When the war began Fritz, his wife and children found they were regarded as not only aliens but as enemies. They were separated and kept in prisoners' camps. However, his friend David Astor helped him to get a job on an agricultural estate.

As an intellectual Schumacher felt miserable as he could not discuss issues with the colleagues. But the owner of the farm was well aware of his intellectualism and whenever he visited the farm

But the administration of Adenauer in the Federal Republic of Germany did not follow the socialisation policy advocated by Schumacher. He was against currency reform but the measures adopted by the administration were quite contrary to those suggested by him and West Germany achieved a miracle. As an activist-academician Schumacher was proved wrong in West Germany.

Later he was appointed to the National Coal Board of Britain, where he worked for a long time. As an economist on various government committees Schumacher was in great demand and was drafted by the Burmese government. In Burma the teachings of Buddhism deeply impressed him.

He met Jayaprakash Narayan later, and in response to an invitation from him, he toured India. He studied Gandhian ideology and became an ardent advocate of Gandhiji's economic philosophy. But he was disap-

## Alias Papa



A LIFE OF

*Fritz Schumacher*

Author of *Small is Beautiful*

BARBARA WOOD

*Alias Papa : A Life Of Fritz Schumacher : By Barbara Wood (OUP, 1985, £ 4.95)*

Fritz was invited to lunch followed by long discussions. Schumacher loved manual labour and never shirked doing his tasks.

Ultimately, at the fag end of the war he was appointed in the University Institute of Statistics at Oxford. He was full of ideas and wrote articles and reports which created widespread interest among readers. Influenced by Marxian philosophy he was all praise for the welfare state and public ownership of various important industries. He had great respect for Beveridge and Tawney.

pointed with the performance of the government in India.

Schumacher believed that Indian society was not making its mark economically or culturally. Though he supported Gandhiji's ideas he did not idolise village life. He maintained that the best and the worst in human nature came from the city, not from rural life. He, therefore, wanted rural and urban life to be linked.

Since there were too many demands on his time, Schumacher resigned from the Coal Board. He undertook extended lectures



unique  
gions, allow  
nt to wor  
church, mo  
urdwara a  
e does in

atavarada

on Hinduism  
ing of beauty  
dant thoughts  
of the oldest  
world. Shaku  
as done a delig  
ring the essence  
pleasantly rea

ng "What is H  
an give shelter  
and agnostics  
fully summaris  
of Hinduism  
religion but a  
es not accept  
eligious gui  
gain unique an  
ows its adher  
church, mosc  
freely as he

break-up of th  
m and the er  
alism, much  
the ancient  
is been forgot  
icularly the

Mrs. Shaku  
with her co  
on the subje  
explains the  
the philosoph  
a succinct w  
taken pains to  
the scientific  
ancients thro  
and Vichara

II of the bo  
riptures of th  
mitis, Epics,  
d Darshanas.

ne of the co  
tures in a ch  
given and th  
mpse of th  
of ancient

tarting with  
g those that  
revealed —

four Vedas, t  
evolution

ver centuries,  
Vedanta w  
adherence to

vestigation —  
concept. Ve  
thinkers in

reek thinkers  
pean philos  
Nietzsche and



unique  
gions, allows  
nt to wor-  
church, mos-  
urdwara as  
e does in a

# A free-for-all faith

## atavaradan

on Hinduism is.  
ning of beauty with  
dant thoughts and  
of the oldest re-  
world. Shakuntala  
as done a delightful  
ring the essence of  
pleasantly readable

ng "What is Hindu-  
an give shelter even  
and agnostics, the  
ully summarises the  
of Hinduism which  
religion but a way  
es not accept dicta-  
eligious guidance:  
ain unique amongst  
ows its adherent to  
church, mosque or  
freely as he does

break-up of the joint  
n and the entry of  
alism, much of the  
the ancient Hindu  
as been forgotten by  
icularly the urban  
Mrs. Shakunthala  
with her commend-  
on the subject and  
explains the rudi-  
the philosophy of  
a succinct way. The  
taken pains to convey  
the scientific wisdom  
scients through her  
and Vichara.

II of the book deals  
riptides of the Hindus  
mritis, Epics, Puranas,  
d Darshanas. A fairly  
ne of the contents of  
ures in a chronologi-  
given and the reader  
mpse of the poetic  
of ancient Indian  
tating with the Sritis  
g those that have been  
revealed — which in-  
four Vedas, the author  
evolution of Hindu  
er centuries, culminat-  
Vedanta which insists  
adherence to truth and  
vestigation — a truly  
concept. Vedanta has  
thinkers in India and  
reek thinkers like Plato  
pean philosophers like  
Nietzsche and Schopen-



THE COSMIC CREATOR: Brahma on the holy gander.

hauer were greatly influenced by  
Vedantic philosophy. Since Vedan-  
ta appeals to the mind and to  
one's logical understanding, many  
modern scientists have begun to  
take serious interest in this sub-  
ject and find a number of cor-  
relations with concepts in modern  
physics, particularly in the field  
of subatomic particles and cosmo-  
logy. In fact, the basic idea of the  
creation of the universe in a "Big  
Bang" has exact parallels in the  
Hindu origin of the universe.

The chapter on the tenets and  
beliefs of Hinduism, which covers  
more than half of the book,  
deals with the concept of God  
and reality. The concept of tri-  
nity — Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu  
as the creator, destroyer and pro-  
tector — is brought out well,  
with stress on the protection of  
good and the destruction of evil.

The author also deals with the

caste system and brings out the  
point that the evils of the caste  
system such as untouchability  
are the products of latter day  
men and not inherent to Hindu-  
ism. So also the fact that women  
enjoyed an equal status with  
men and it is foreign invasions  
that resulted in women becom-

Vichara (enquiry) and Anubhava  
(experience) each have their  
place in spiritual experience but  
it is essential for knowledge to  
be acquired by personal investi-  
gation and one's own experience  
alone.

The book also describes the  
contributions of people like

Hinduism — An Introduction : By Shakunthala Jagan-  
nathan (Vakils, Feffer and Simons, Rs. 70)

ing a protected species. In ancient  
times, women were also initiated  
into religious practice like men  
and this can be seen from temple  
sculptures where women also are  
shown wearing the sacred thread.  
The renaissance in Hinduism  
initiated by Adi Shankara is well  
brought out — Adi Shankara  
taught that Vijnana (intuition)

•Swami Vivekananda, Raja Ram-  
mohan Roy, M. G. Ranade and  
Mahatma Gandhi in liberating  
Hindus from the clutches of un-  
wanted rituals and social practices.  
Summing up, Mrs. Jagannathan  
deserves to be commended for  
having enabled us to gain a  
glimpse of the poetic grandeur  
contained in Hinduism.



rie

she was a  
road, they  
uch daily, a  
be infidelit  
th sides, th  
ved in their  
ndence a  
at was of  
thic.

Neville B

JOHN MIDDLET  
was a great lit  
the opening vo  
llected Letters  
nsfield nearly a  
essed to him, an  
ded even the m  
and in the kitch  
orning after he m  
dger in Grav's  
pril, 1912. It read  
g. You must bo  
er they were to

Frequently they  
en at their hap  
aceful when they  
riting to each ot  
way or abroad,  
uch daily, and  
ies on both sid  
l in their corres  
ort that was  
ne of the last  
olume, dated I  
ds: "You are so  
heart that we a  
ings of one bird

Dedication to t  
er art is a recur  
S. Kotliansk  
elped with his  
hekhov, she stre  
e found in "de  
e sake of detai  
the life of it.  
out writing so  
e read twice to  
ood. To differ  
tows different  
utious about th  
e will explain  
ertrand Russell  
at she enjoys  
serving other v  
e off their gu

Probably he w  
l at the idea  
onths later, she  
rothy Brett ab  
ing and beco  
e writes about  
rett, it is not  
come one. "T  
ly the 'prelude

re Collected  
ited by Vinc

what ouers  
Consider, fo  
Englises b  
and M. L  
Kegan Paul  
the new va  
are taking  
India. Sing  
Nigeria.  
titude as  
d African  
to suc





# Friends and lovers

she was away or road, they kept in touch daily, and, despite infidelities on both sides, they achieved in their correspondence a rapport that was often telepathic.

Neville Braybrooke

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

was a great literary hoarder. In the opening volume of *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield* nearly a third are addressed to him, and there is indeed even the note which he found in the kitchen on the first morning after he moved in as her lodger in Grav's Inn Road, in April, 1912. It read: "This is your gas. You must boil it." A month later they were to become lovers.

Frequently they seem to have been at their happiest and most successful when they were apart and writing to each other. If she was away or abroad, they kept in touch daily, and, despite infidelities on both sides, they achieved in their correspondence a rapport that was often telepathic. One of the last letters in this volume, dated December, 1917, reads: "You are so grown into my heart that we are like the two wings of one bird."

Dedication to the perfecting of her art is a recurring theme. To S. Kotliansky, whom she helped with his translation of Chekhov, she stresses the value to be found in "detail — not for the sake of detail but for the life of the life of it." Her statements about writing sometimes need to be read twice to be fully understood. To different friends she shows different faces, and she is cautious about the degree to which she will explain her techniques. Bertrand Russell is merely told that she enjoys sitting in cafes, observing other women when they get off their guard.

Probably he would have laughed at the ideas which, some months later, she puts forward to Dorothy Brett about the nature of writing and becoming. For when she writes about ducks, she tells Brett, it is not sufficient just to come one. "That . . . is really only the 'prelude'." What is neces-

sary is to create anew the duck before becoming it — and the term create she is using in the biblical sense in which it is used in Genesis.

When this volume opens in 1903, Katherine is a schoolgirl just arrived in London from New Zealand, and her comments about the capital have a nice freshness and originality of approach. She admires St. Paul's, but dislikes the pigeons because they remind her of Christ turning the dove-merchants out of the Temple. On her return to Wellington in 1906 a sense of alienation from the common herd creeps in — some-

When she writes about ducks, she tells Dorothy Brett, it is not sufficient just to become one. "That . . . is really only the 'prelude'." What is necessary is to create anew the duck before becoming it.



A RACE AGAINST TIME: Katherine Mansfield.

thing that she never lost. Two years later she sailed back to England for good. When an editor accepts her first stories, she informs him: "Encouragement has studiously passed me by for so long that I am very appreciative."

She was 18 years old. Katherine Mansfield's life was a race against time. In a brief note that she sent to an unidentified recipient in 1909, when she was 23, she declares she does not think that she has long to live and that a voice has already warned her. "Make use of a short daylight." The next three volumes on this carefully prepared definitive edition of her letters will show how much she crammed into those few remaining years.

*The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Vol. I, 1903-1917:* edited by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (OUP, £15)

Consider, for example, *The New Englishes* by J. Platt, H. Weber and M. L. Ho (Routledge & Kegan Paul £12.50), a study of the new varieties of English that are taking shape in places like India, Singapore, Malaysia and Nigeria. Time was when the attitude as much among Asians and Africans as among the British to such linguistic variations

together the loose association known as the English speaking world.

There used to be a kind of foreign correspondent who parked himself in some corner of the globe and remained there forever after undislodged, becoming in the process a local character, the old hand with a firm grip on the "ropes", the

Asia saw the Chinese and Japanese as regarding foreigners as "devils". The idea of expertise has changed considerably in the years since then. But the capacity for fun which people like Hughes have is infectious and agreeable; and although a brand new publication this book has a period charm to which many will willingly succumb.

NJN

left behind a persona that hasn't ceased to attract even after all these years. They ignored M. Monroe while she was there. (Cont. next)







# The Compleat Orientalist

By Vidyarthi Chatterjee

AMONG the many Englishmen who distinguished themselves as Oriental scholars—Sir John Shore, Henry Thomas Colebrook, Sir Charles Wilkins, Dr H. H. Wilson, James Prinsep and several others—none shone so luminously, shedding pioneering light on varied aspects of Indian and Eastern learning, as Sir William Jones (1746-1794), the Supreme Court Associate Justice who has passed into history as the founder of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. It is only fitting that these two books\* compiled and edited by the late Moni Bagchee, well-known biographer and essayist, should see the light of day during the bicentennial of the celebrated Society. The first is an outline of the history of the Society and the other, a more ambitious piece of work, is an edited version of the speeches and essays of Sir William Jones.

Edmund Burke once spoke of Jones as being the most learned man in Great Britain. His competence and reputation as a lawyer, considerable by any standard, were however far exceeded by his love for, and knowledge of, the Eastern languages, notably Persian, Sanskrit and Hebrew. So, when in 1783 he was offered the post of a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal, he was quick to grasp the opportunity of travelling to the ancient land which had long fired his imagination and exercised his intellect. On his arrival in Calcutta towards the end of

September 1783, Jones embarked on a project which was destined to make him immortal in the annals of Indological studies and Oriental scholarship—the creation of a learned society in Calcutta broadly on the lines of the Royal Society of London.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, now simply known as the Asiatic Society, had its inaugural meeting on January 15, 1784. The Governor-General Warren Hastings, whose admiration for the intellectual gifts of the East was matched by his unscrupulousness when it came to furthering the material and political interests of the East India Company, was elected patron, and Jones its first President. In his address on the occasion, Jones said: "... if now it be asked what are the intended objects of our enquiries within these spacious limits, we answer Man and Nature; whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other". Appropriately, these memorable words have since been adopted as the Society's motto. Jones, whose ambition it was to know India "better than any other European ever knew it", was in fact committed to knowing all there was to know about the entire continent—"the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia".

The Asiatic Society: A Brief History, is exactly what it claims to be, a short enumeration of the major facts in the 200-year history of the Society as

well as a bare outline of its activities in the promotion of learning within the geographical limits of Asia. Divided into nine short chapters, the booklet nevertheless brings to light many bits and pieces of interesting information new to the average reader. However what is most admirable about the writing of these 44 pages is that the author, tireless student of Indian history that he was, took it up when he was almost 75 and did not rest till he had sent the manuscript to the publishers. It is sad to think that death should have denied him the well-deserved reward of seeing the work in print.

William Jones's discourses and essays, which form the staple of the second volume under review, have been dedicated by the editor to the memory of Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, arguably the greatest Indian Indologist of our times. The publication of the volume is a serious and successful attempt at conveying to the reader an idea of the breadth and depth of the Englishman's erudition on matters Asiatic in general and Hindu (the same as Indian and carrying no religious connotation) in particular. Jones delivered 11 discourses in all, the first two being general and preparatory in nature.

The range of subjects covered in these discourses, which were presidential addresses delivered at each anniversary meeting of the Society, was truly stupendous. The first five were on the Hindus, the Arabs, the Tartars, the Persians and the Chinese. The remaining were devoted to the Borderers, Mountaineers and Islanders of Asia; the Origin and Families of Nations; Asiatic History, Civil and Natural; and the Philosophy of the Asiatics.

Jones's mastery of Sanskrit, which proved of language and literature was unparalleled to the historians who surpassed only by his scholars who followed his third discourse on February 2, 1786, he observed: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similarity, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family..."

It would appear that Jones had made a painstaking and meticulous study of practically every aspect of the lives and times of the ancient Hindus, and came to hold them in the highest esteem. This was in sharp contrast to the official British line, sometimes preached with a vengeance, that Hindu

features, particularly noses, from the byssinians...."

sequent research has many of Jones's findings, in no way detract from his efforts to reach and truth by ever his very original and

courses on the Arabs, the Persians and reveal the same pursuit after knowledge of the ancient peoples who, overtaken by time, Jones threw on these races and even on the tribes of land mass, relying on mythic and mythological relating to these people. As a result, occasions when Jones as being a latter-day

in that his sources of ranged from authenticated literature and in manuscripts to ons of doubtful value. he findings of Orient- ed Jones have falsi- of the efforts that his colleagues of the society undertook to and interpret the East these should not be i. There was in some illectual discoveries a

leue to the historians who followed his scholars who followed his third discourse on February 2, 1786, he observed: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similarity, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family..."

(Signature)  
of  
Moderators:-



William Jones as a boy (Joshua Reynolds)

After all these years, hasn't ceased to attract even left behind a persona that



# Portrait Of A Minister

(Continued from Page 1)

what was not Bihari. A man all of a piece, his grain ran consistently and predictably one way. He was truer, though, than some other sophisticated politicians.

Slowly he granted me an easy familiarity. I would see him with or without appointment, but we did not discuss the intricacies of foreign trade; and looking back I cannot even recall whether we discussed trade at all. The meetings were usually to convey some information he wanted from my side, to explain something. Sometimes I asked him to desist from something, to go easy with STC. He seldom sought my advice, but he always listened.

## "Peace Buy Karo"

I would occasionally tell him about the results, and he was content to know that everything was going well. He wanted, above all, no problems in STC, and once when we had some staff trouble and I wanted to take clear and firm action, he told me to go ahead so long as I could contain it.

"Bhai Tandon, peace buy karo", was his simple advice to me. "Make sure they don't take a procession to Parliament or to her house." He seemed however to like his relationship with me, and showed almost visible pride in the presence of some colleague in my partly familiar but impeccably correct and circumspect manner, implying both respect and equality. It was an unfamiliar combination to him, and he seemed to like it.

But there was a court, the in-group. His bulky soft figure, especially when he sat with his legs drawn up on the sofa, dressed in loose starched kurta and dhoti, was like a zamindar rajah's.

## Cut Him To Size

Trusting in his own way, at least when things went well, he seemed by nature to put more trust in luck and omen and in lesser men than in a confident self-reliant course. Among themselves, his in-group were a disparate lot with talents that, had they been used to help him grow into a bigger man, might have taken him further than to his early abrupt end. In a modern language these men practised an

old art of statecraft, in which the world of international trade played no role except to provide a good life at home and abroad. The trusting way in which he let himself be influenced and even moulded puzzled me.

According to an apocryphal story, he was asked once to cut someone down to size. He obliged, and afterwards asked if they were satisfied. He was assured that he had done it extremely well. "But what had the man done?" he enquired naively. In my own presence he once remarked, as if tutored, "Yes, yes, we will have to provide for some direct control over STC, for the time when Mr. Tandon is there no longer." It was a hint I was supposed to take while I was there.

★

Out of the blue, one evening, seemingly well timed, someone rang up to say that orders had just been signed to relieve me of two of my directors, because they had not exercised their option to stay permanently in STC or return to their government departments. The third was on the list; the fourth, Praxy Fernandes, had already wisely decided to return to government. Thus I would be picked clean of my team, so carefully built, and in return have one of their choosing imposed upon me.

I rang Mishra immediately and said I was coming over to see him. He replied, uncertainly, that he hoped not over this matter. I said, please, it is over this; and in a few minutes I was in his office. He did not quite seem to know how to cope with a situation that I was convinced was not of his making; nor perhaps to his liking, though he visibly disliked some of the directors. I met him several times that week till he decided to say no to them and yes to me. I think we were both defeated in our own ways. I certainly felt defeated and was convinced that I was needed no longer.

Next week, the crisis over for the time, I wrote him a short letter addressing him for the first time by his first name, in my own hand, to say that I had tried hard to satisfy but had failed; I had done my best by STC and by him; I would appreciate if he would now let me go. There was no rancour in my resigna-

tion, only a touch of deep sadness. I wished him well in his future and in his own career.

I do not know if he referred the letter anywhere higher, and was told to stay his hand, or felt in his own interest that my departure should not be sudden, and I should stay a while longer; but he rang me up with great effusiveness, anxious that I should stay. I said, yes, for his sake, but only for another two months. He then wrote a warm letter, also by my first name, and thanked me. I warmed up towards him. If the in-group was thwarted, he at least went up in my estimation.

## A New Tandon

Two months later, after running in the year's results, seemingly to his satisfaction, I left. He arranged one of his weekly officers' meetings for the day I left and made a warm reference at the end of it to my departure; and within his ministry and outside he asked people to suggest a "new chairman like Tandon". I thanked him.

Mishra had something in him that, despite the worst storm even faced by a minister in Parliament, had the makings of something bigger than what some of his well-wishers would have him be. He was essentially a gentle and superstitious man, but with the great asset of determination. He hitched his wagon to the star with unshakable faith and fidelity, beyond which he had little to offer. His ambition was to serve. And who knew what the distant future might have held. So long as his patron saints and the astrologers were happy, he was content to serve and wait, propitiating them and the gods, both of whom ultimately cast him aside. He moved on and moved up—and beyond!

His violent death brought surprisingly little comment which understood the man. Beyond some trite sympathy and connotation of violence, no criticism was recalled, as if it was found. Some recollection came later in the character of the Emerge an attempt was made a mantle of martyrdom. He left behind a mark, and on my more than a scratch.

# Sh

Ever since  
our people  
India; it  
Anglo-S  
say that  
leads to  
ple's co  
prefer th  
the An  
(except  
appoint  
Code N

In India  
system o  
ple. Th  
forms C  
TARKUN  
judge a  
limitatio  
is both

A LOT  
refo  
system in  
tral govern  
cided to a  
sion to su  
system. How  
point out th  
of loose ta  
this behalf.  
tem in this  
years has l  
loped on  
del. Though  
disputed th  
great defect  
its working  
pensive an  
one is more  
these two d  
frustration  
fore, I do  
sures to av  
and to cut  
gation must  
towards ma  
inexpensive  
come. But  
is a colonia  
and does n  
that it has  
that it has  
to decry th  
To say that  
vestige of I  
needs to be  
done once  
law ministe  
emotive app  
false patriot  
the Suprem  
cent case, r  
unwarranted  
ment, deno  
'cancer-ridd  
on to obse

"The  
of this c  
to the go  
This is a  
across th



# Should Our Judicial

Ever since independence, there has been a fairly vocal section among our people demanding a complete overhaul of the judicial system in India; it traces all the ills in meting out justice to people to the archaic Anglo-Saxon law courts we have inherited from the British. These critics say that the system is too cumbersome, it inevitably causes delays and leads to prolonged litigation at enormous costs. Some favour the people's courts in the Soviet Union and other communist countries; others prefer the system as it is in the United States; the Americans have tailored the Anglo-Saxon system to suit their needs and thus their judges (except of the Supreme Court) are elected by the people instead of being appointed by the Executive. Then there is the French model, based on Code Napoleon, which is less complicated and dispenses speedy justice.

In India there are some enthusiasts, who still believe that the panchayat system of doling out justice was most conducive to the genius of our people. The government is considering the appointment of a Judicial Reforms Commission to go into all aspects of this problem. Mr. Justice V.M. TARKUNDE, an eminent jurist, who has been a distinguished High Court judge and is an active member of the Bar, discusses some of the basic limitations of the system as it prevails in India today and points out what is both right and wrong with it.

A LOT has been said about reforming the judicial system in India and the Central government has also decided to appoint a commission to suggest reforms in the system. However, I would like to point out that considerable amount of loose talk is taking place on this behalf. True, the judicial system in this country for the last 100 years has been based and developed on the Anglo-Saxon model. Though sound, it cannot be disputed that over the years two great defects have been noticed in its working, namely, it is both expensive and dilatory and no one is more conscious than I that these two defects are causing great frustration to the litigants. Therefore, I do not dispute that measures to avoid procedural delays and to cut down the cost of litigation must be devised and steps towards making justice speedy and inexpensive would be most welcome. But to say that the system is a colonial legacy, that it is alien and does not suit our conditions, that it has become outdated or that it has outlived its utility is to decry the same unnecessarily. To say that our judiciary is "the vestige of British imperialism and needs to be reorganised" as was done once by the previous Union law minister, is to indulge in an emotive appeal out of a sense of false patriotism. A sitting judge of the Supreme Court has, in a recent case, made an unwanted and unwarranted judicial pronouncement, denouncing the court as 'cancer-ridden'. And he has gone on to observe:

"The justice delivery system of this country is utterly alien to the genius of this country. This is a smuggled system from across the shores imposed upon

us by the empire-builders for their own political motives and during the foreign rule a class came into existence which has enormously benefited by the justice delivery system to the detriment of the teeming millions and, therefore, they have become protagonists of the system."

Such a diatribe against the system and styling it as "a smuggled system" and as having been "imposed on us" clearly amounts to an insult to our founding fathers, who realising the sterling merits of the system, openly and freely adopted it in our Constitution. With a crusader's zeal, the same learned judge has gone on record elsewhere to suggest the scrapping of the Procedure Codes and Evidence Act or something to that effect. In other words, destroy the very instruments with which to work the system! No further comment is necessary but all I ask is: should he not quit the system

The Anglo - Saxon model does not tell a judge to indulge in sermons and philosophies while delivering judgments; it does not tell him to project his individual image at the cost of the court's image; it does not tell him to delay his judgments for several months.

if he holds these views sincerely and honestly?

The system is basically sound and subject to the two defects which I have mentioned above, it has been working quite satisfactorily. The suggestion that the present system should be discarded outright or thrown overboard lock, stock and barrel and that we should have nyaya panchayats or other indigenous systems of justice is difficult to accept. Nyaya panchayats in taluk areas and villages which are ridden by illiteracy, casteism and now by the neo-political hawks, are bound to prove dangerous and result in the negation of justice. A glaring instance of how members of nyaya panchayats functioned in Maharashtra has gone on record and I would like to mention it here. A small money-claim was lodged by a claimant with a nyaya panchayat and when the opponent did not appear in response to the summons served on him, the members of the panchayat, instead of allowing the claim *ex parte*, took it as an offence and issued a contempt notice for disobedience of the summons against the opponent and eventually imposed a fine on him. Needless to say, the order imposing a fine was quashed by the High Court.

After all, the successful working of our judicial system in the sense of reaching justice to the common man depends upon the persons who work it. A few do's and don'ts, if observed by the judges and lawyers who are working within the present system, will go a long way to relieve the litigants of their frustration. I have always felt that while making judicial pronouncements, judges should not indulge in prefaces and exordial exercises, par-

the chief justice of a

ad valorem court type the Union law courts to secure state co-operation in that at fruit, I may mean Supreme Court has rules so as to do deposit of security file, preferring an put on the aspect of litigation inexpensive much lies with the ho do's and don'ts are very clear. As by the Chief Justice other day, law-tunianise their ser-

judgments for several months for a year or two years; nor does it tell him to leave his court work half-way through for fulfilling

On the aspect of cutting down the cost of litigation, the state governments can give relief by

measures in society and not commercialise them. I would only add that even commercial morality deprecates questionable modes of recovery.



## Thought For The Week

*Politicians are the same all over. They promise to build a bridge even where there is no river.*

— NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

3.8.1981

### New Breed of Ministers

Ministers as a class have become objects of ridicule among the intelligentsia. Some of them still command respect by virtue of their integrity, performance and capacity for articulation. But one can count such men on one's fingers. With the exception of former Congressmen, most Janata ministers were new to office. They had not managed even local bodies. And many of those who have now moved into their place with Mrs. Gandhi's return to power would either not have been there or would have been given relatively junior assignments if the Congress party had not split in 1978. They are not only colourless, inexperienced and ill-educated, but they are also not too worried about conforming to rules.

This problem is not altogether new. It has existed ever since independence. But during those days, even the most ordinary Congressman was aware that government in our times meant administration of laws according to some well-established rules—these could be bent but only to some extent. While he came from a social milieu where it was considered one's duty to help one's relations, however distant, and friends regardless of merit, he had grown up in a different political culture. He had learnt the need to accept certain norms like impartiality in administration. This is no longer so. Our political behaviour has come to conform to our old pre-modern social behaviour. Village India has not taken over the affairs of the country. But it has increasingly become more and more assertive.

It would be ridiculous to suggest that our top intelligentsia conforms to the principles, ideals, rules and conventions by which it swears. Its members indulge in casteism, communalism, regionalism, nepotism and corruption. They too belong to two different worlds. But they are less free from inhibitions imbibed from the modern west than our politicians who are increasingly finding the pull of old India irresistible. Old India was largely austere and it was not corrupt. But our politicians are representatives of old India. Like the rest of us, they are a strange mixture of the old and the new. Only the proportions differ. But it is an important difference. Capitals have for years been full of ministers, but remained villagers at heart. But there had been few of such men in New Delhi till 1977. Their number has multiplied manifold since.

But there was a court, the in-group. His bulky soft figure, especially when he sat with his legs drawn up on the sofa, dressed in loose starched kurta and dhoti, was like a zamindar rajah's.

#### Cut Him To Size

Trusting in his own way, at least when things went well, he seemed by nature to put more trust in luck and omen and in lesser men than in a confident self-reliant course. Among themselves, his in-group were a disparate lot with talents that, had they been used to help him grow into a bigger man, might have taken him further than to his early abrupt end. In a modern language these men practised an

### Minister

a touch of deep sadness which he referred to in his own career.

Not knowing if he referred anywhere higher, and to stay his hand, or his own interest that my should not be sudden, I should stay a while longer; I was me up with great effect, anxious that I should say, yes, for his sake, for another two months. I wrote a warm letter, by first name, and thank-warmed up towards him. My group was thwarted, he went up in my estimation.

#### Tandon

Months later, after running his results, seemingly to my satisfaction, I left. He arrived of his weekly officers, for the day I left and warm reference at the time to my departure; and his ministry and outside people to suggest a "new like Tandon". I thanked

He had something in him despite the worst storm he had been through. He had the makings of a minister in Parliament. Nothing bigger than what he had of his well-wishers would do him be. He was essentially a gentle and superstitious man, but with the great asset of determination. He hitched his wagon to the star with unshakable faith and fidelity, beyond which he had little to offer. His ambition was to serve. And who knew what the distant future might have held. So long as his patron saints and the astrologers were happy, he was content to serve and wait, propitiating them and the gods, both of whom he ultimately cast him aside. He moved on and moved up—and beyond!

His violent death brought surprisingly little comment which I understood the man. Beyond some trite sympathy and connotation of violence, no conclusion was recalled, as if it was found. Some recall came later in the character of the Emergence of an attempt was made a mantle of martyrdom. He left behind a mark, and on my more than a scratch.





# Democracy Reduced To A Farce

by N. J. Nanporia

from the President and asked to form a government because he "enjoyed the support of more members" than Morarji Desai; Jagjivan Ram who succeeded Morarji Desai as leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party, anticipating the fall of the new minority government, expressed his confidence that the Opposition would be invited to try again; Charan Singh insisted that his departure from Janata was not defection; he had called Bahuguna a corrupt KGB agent and Bahuguna had called Charan Singh "a mentally deranged person", yet both were fellow ministers in the same cabinet; internal dissensions and contradictions soon forced Charan Singh, faced by a confidence vote, to advise the President to dissolve the Lok Sabha.

On the point whether Charan Singh, a prime defector, and head of a hastily concocted indeterminate party should have been asked to form a government or have even be seen as a potential prime minister there can be no quarrel with the author's view that the Presidential discretion was here seriously misused. Less certain is the issue of dissolution. Some allowance should surely be made for the possibility that, Charan Singh's recommendation apart, the President himself had reached the conclusion that there was no alternative. Indeed, this is a decision

To these polls, and Morarji, following a dure that debased the system of near-farce, was a quite improper exercise of a discretion in circumstances had temporarily imposed on the President. An ad hoc term majority clearly does not create a situation of this kind, and no one to claim the status of a potential prime minister. By unnecessarily prolonging an uncertainty that could have been resolved immediately, all the forces inherent in Indian politics have relied on defections, demoralisation and betrayal were much emboldened and uninhibitedly rose to the surface. These things were happily not unknown in the past but that they should now blatantly to operate at the Centre was the most shattering exposure of national weakness ever to have happened since independence.

The author is led to ask what the President should do if the ministerial advice he receives

patently inconsistent with the letter or spirit of the Constitution and with his own personal obligations under it. The three-week happening of 1979 has shown that sometimes the demands on the President thrust on him responsibilities very much more onerous than those of a constitutional President. For instance what are the norms by which he should be judged in ensuring an acceptable central government? Neither President Sanjiva Reddy nor the others involved contributed anything to a clarification of such issues. On the contrary the entire period was a demonstration of a frightening incapacity to conduct affairs in spirit, if not the letter, of a democratic and enlightened system. No studious reading of the Constitution can be a substitute for this failing.

As is usually the case with a kar, though no doubt not forgetting anything remotely like the events of 1979, had some pertinent things to say: "Constitutional morality is not a natural phenomenon. It has to be cultivated. It has to be nurtured. We must realise that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top dress. The Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic." Although the three weeks were a public balm, more alleviated only by the comedy of Charan Singh's nomination for prime ministerial office, however brief, and of a president seemingly carried by a sense of self-importance, concentrated study of even the implications crucial to the country's political future is ahead for all those who are ahead with some degree of education.

**CRISIS, THE**  
M. V. Pylee (Asia)  
House, Rs. 50)



# Nuclear Self-Reliance Need For A Supervisory Board

By SATYABRATA RAI CHOWDHURI

WHEN Dr Raja Ramanna, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, recently proposed the setting up of a nuclear power board to supervise all nuclear power projects in the country, he must have been aware that the various problems facing some of the projects should be approached with urgency so that the government's production target of 10,000 MW by the end of this century can be realised. Nobody will disagree that it is well-nigh impossible for the commission to fulfil the dual task of framing policy and at the same time supervising the day-to-day performance of nuclear power projects.

At present, the total capacity of all the nuclear power projects in the country is only 1,100 MW and it is expected that a further 1,200 MW will be produced by the end of the '80s. On the face of it, the target of 10,000 MW may appear overambitious. But it would seem quite modest compared to many developed countries. For example, in 1982, the installed nuclear power capacity in the US was 60,000 MW, in France about 20,000 MW, in Japan 16,000 MW and the Soviet Union 17,000 MW. Nuclear power reactors now account for about ten per cent of world electricity production of this figure is likely to be doubled by 1990. By the end of the century, further increases are envisaged. France is likely to have nearly 70 per cent of its electricity from nuclear power projects by 2000 A.D.

## Quantum Jump

According to Dr Ramanna, in India a stage has now been reached when it is possible to plan for a quantum jump in nuclear capacity in view of the availability of adequate quantity of uranium and expertise developed in setting up plants for nuclear fuel, heavy water, spent fuel reprocessing and waste management and most important of all, the capabilities of local industry. One of the main requirements for achieving a substantial increase in capacity is a long-term commitment by the government so that industry in turn can mobilise the resources to ensure timely deliveries of equipment and also effect economies of scale. "The time appears to be right for a bold decision to expand the nuclear power programme. We must not be left behind in the nuclear power revolution," he observes.

The target of 10,000 MW has been set taking into consideration the many achievements in the field of engineering and fabrication of critical nuclear components together with the extensive industrial and research infrastructure that has been developed over the years. In fact, in 1979 a working group of the energy policy of the Union ministry of energy was in favour of an even higher target. The target of 10,000 MW was finally accepted and, to fulfil it, it is proposed to install another 12 units of 235 MW each in addition to those already under construction. Concurrently, the design of a 500 MW unit is planned by the late '80s and ten such standardised units may be possible by the end of the century.

Can the target of 10,000 MW be reached within the stipulated time? If it is, will country be "self-reliant" in nuclear power? There can be no straight answer to these questions because the kind of growth and

necessary to fulfil the task depends on several factors like the economies of nuclear power, capacity of industries, availability of sufficient heavy water, trained manpower and financial resources. Most important of all, the performance of the existing projects will have to be very good.

Although India has successfully world country with a nuclear power designed anckkam, with indigenous plant at Kne performance of many know-how plants leaves much to be of the. Heavy water in the amounts needed is unlikely to be produced in India for years and the DAE's heavy water plants are nothing if not white elephants, and very sluggish ones at that, production less than one-fifth of their 300-tonnes capacity.

It is true that almost all the major nuclear power plants are today beset with multifarious problems. The most serious of these are the failure to commission the plants on schedule and run them to capacity. Late deliveries, shortage of building and raw materials, lack of coordination between various sections of the DAE, mounting costs, incidence of radioactive overexposure, reports of leakage, a poor safety record, and discontent among the officers of the BARC. The officers' association of the BARC recently alleged that scientists "have been deprived of effective academic freedom and have to work in a constant fear of arbitrary authority." It has also been charged that technically and economically unsound projects have been initiated and continued for long periods of time. And it is well-known that a few scientists, for instance, one of them at the Tuticorin heavy water plant in 1979 and another at Trombay in 1980, took their own lives in utter frustration.

These problems and setbacks only underscore the fact that the DAE is an overburdened body and the setting up of a coordinating agency, as proposed by Dr Ramanna, will ease its burden and tone up its overall administration. Viewed from this angle, the need for a supervisory board can hardly be exaggerated.

## False Extrapolation

Once the "basic problems are removed and the administration of the DAE is put on the even keel, the fulfilment of the power production target of 10,000 MW will not be beyond the range of feasibility. As pointed out by Dr Ramanna, "it is a false extrapolation to say that if we make one gramme now we make only two grammes next year. By making one gramme was to break the back of the whole problem and them we can shoot up."

On the question of cost, Dr Ramanna firmly maintains that the economies of nuclear power are most favourable to India. The cost of fuel in a nuclear system is the smallest because the amount of fuel required in a nuclear system is negligible compared to the quantity of coal that has to be transported. It is, in fact, "a question of a few tonnes against a million tonnes". Capital costs for nuclear plants are 25 per cent higher than for coal but it is the running costs that are low. A fast breeder reactor earns fuel because every gramme that is put in gives back as much as 100 grammes and this

the fuel problem is mean solved.

It must be remembered that comparison of nuclear and thermal station costs is always difficult because the methods of costing are different. Certain items of expenditure are included in one but not the other. Capacity factors are different and, for comparison on an equitable basis, several assumptions have to be made.

The next important question that arises is the feasibility of an assured supply of heavy water for a 10,000 MW programme. Dr Ramanna admits that to overcome this problem imports are out of the question. Yet he is confident that the hurdle is not insurmountable. The oldest heavy water plant in the country is at Nangal which is based on the hydrogen distillation process and produces about 14 tonnes of heavy water a year. For the Baroda and Tuticorin plants, the DAE chose the ammonia-hydrogen exchange process, technology for which was obtained from France and Switzerland. The same process was chosen for the Thal plant as it was believed that there was nothing wrong with the process. The Kota plant is based on the hydrogen sulphide water process developed at Trombay. The plant was mechanically completed in April 1981 and is expected to be fully commissioned any time now. The same process has also been chosen for the 185-tonne Manuguru plant. The total capacity of these heavy water plants is likely to be around 600 tonnes a year.

## Heavy Water

"With respect to technology for our entire heavy water programme", Dr Ramanna observes, "we are totally on our own, and all the problems encountered in this unique area have to be solved by our own experience and investigations. All this takes time. In fact, heavy water plants abroad have had similar teething troubles like the ones we are facing. Eventually, they have been overcome by analysis of the difficulties and through experience. We are just getting out of this process and are confident that the plants at Baroda, Tuticorin, Thal, Kota and Manuguru will work satisfactorily. With the successful commercial operations of these plants, we will be producing adequate heavy water to support a nuclear power programme up to 5,000 MW. Two or three more large heavy water plants will be needed to meet the requirements up to 10,000 MW."

The successful implementation of the 10,000 MW programme will not solve the power problem in the country, for this target constitutes only a modest percentage of the total planned target of at least 120,000 MW. However, the implication of the fulfilment of the 10,000 MW target by the end of the century, is that by then a sound nuclear industry would have been established which would be a long way towards the attainment of self-reliance in nuclear power. As recently observed by Mr Bertrand Goldschmidt, former director of the French Atomic Energy Commission, "India seems to be at the point of winning its battle for national self-sufficiency in atomic energy".

ca

le advancement based on unbeatable man to form for rallies, in numbers of sentiment years of a coast for incibility in the necessarily her four to live scaling ing super until the the para- subsidiary tions like impulse s subside will

estions is y rate. Of sts I have that hav- st tenure, ing about ht reverse es of war relation- view and to change eter. They f his talks leadership f and con- bute to the purposeful igiton and penny and

tion about the state of g the Kan- cooking s received s lane und Shukla, 2. In a dif- hence too suffering by Sarayakki In another her without People on fire. came back being reb television watching

According to reports the girl was committed suicide yesterday after Mrs Indira Gandhi's death and which he was cooking burst due to under Phulvur police circle was Kumar Gupta, 24, of Duniyaganj. In another incident Mr Shiv property in all the affected areas been hounded to recover looked the civil defence organisation in 14 districts to help the authorities. Meanwhile, looked property worth about Rs 1 crore is stated to have violence-hit towns. He was admitted to the SRN excessive pressure. Housewife with extensive burn.

IS, CONSCIENCE  
IE CONSTITUTION  
V. Pylee (Asia  
ouse, Rs. 50)



# Democracy Strikes Roots Form Of Government Not The Issue

By SURINDAR SURI

THE current political crisis in our country has some special features. When the Constitution was framed, it drew upon the expertise and knowledge of cream of the Indian intelligentsia. The result of this monumental labour was the most massive constitutional document in world history. Since 1950 the Constitution has been amended more than fifty times to take into account changing political realities. Moreover, its inherent flexibility has been put to good use to meet emergencies. Some states have been declared disturbed areas, and potentially secessionist movements, such as the Dravida Kazaghams, have been brought into line with a gentle lash of the constitutional whip. The Constitution is flexible enough to administer a socialist society or a capitalist one, but it is ideally suited for a mixed economy. Given the significant success of the Constitution in practice, it appears strange that there is talk now of discarding it in favour of the presidential form. Where has the Constitution failed?

## Dangerous Possibilities

The very richness and flexibility of the Constitution may have overburdened our political leaders. But the rich legacy of the Constitution belongs to the citizens as well. Even if political leaders are unable to add to this inherited wealth, they have a duty to act as trustees for the current and future generations of the common people. But the situation as it has now developed is loaded with dangerous possibilities. An atmosphere of widespread uncertainty has developed. Those who are in favour of a new constitution, no less than those who stand in opposition to it, seem equally unaware of the underlying dynamics of the Indian Constitution in particular, and of democratic politics in general.

A practical approach toward resolving the political crisis demands that we dig deeply and unearth the root of India's constitutional development. The outer shape of the Constitution might delight or dismay those who deal with it at that level, but beneath it there throbs the dynamism of change and progress in a vast nation. The principle of this dynamic was articulated by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi. At the formal level B.R. Ambedkar, the major architect of the Constitution, rejected Gandhian ideas. However, on this issue as on many others, Gandhiji may have had the last word.

Wrote Gandhi: "Under the British Constitution no one gets anything without a hard fight for it. Nehru affirmed Gandhiji's standpoint. In the democratic political process, as grasped and articulated by them, the main actors are not the leaders but the citizens. Individuals and groups organise themselves in order to realise their objectives within the national framework. The philosophy underlying democratic politics was put into practice by Gandhiji, Nehru and others. They organised mass movements and waged a prolonged struggle to win freedom from alien rule. It was not sufficient to prove that India's demand for independence was ethical. Successful political action required the awakening and the active participation of the people. Freedom obtained as a gift from our British rulers, or obtained suddenly at the

point of a gun when people were not ready for it, would have been meaningless. This was the underlying principle of our non-violent freedom struggle. It remained the guiding principle after independence as well.

Thus, the Constituent Assembly accepted the principle of redrawing state boundaries on a linguistic basis. But Nehru and Patel argued in the Constituent Assembly that existing multilingual provinces should not be reorganised until there was a strong demand from the people. Following their lead, the Linguistic Provinces Commission of the Constituent Assembly stated: "We feel that the present is not an opportune moment for the formation of new provinces... (but) if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we as democrats have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole". The Constituent Assembly thus endorsed the basic credo of the freedom movement namely, that major policy decisions should emerge in the democratic process not from the courts of law or from the benevolence of governments' that claim to know what is good for the people, but from the people themselves.

Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and other national leaders thus showed that they had an intuitive grasp of what constituted a healthy political process in a nascent democracy. They knew with gut logic that a democratic society cannot be administered merely by the elite, far less by any clique or leader. A nation has to make choices between various ideals, goals and tasks. Such decisions constitute nuclear points around which to organise and orient the energies of its citizens, but the choice has to be made democratically, and not by the leaders in isolation. Popular movements are thus both pointers and correctives to the leaders' action.

## Mass Movements

The destiny of India as a democratic nation thus rests largely upon the rise and growth of legitimate mass movements and struggles. If, in recent years, some movements have tended to become dysfunctional, and even destructive of life and property, as in Punjab, we must try to discover the reasons for this tragic turn of events. Is it due to a deterioration of leadership within movements, or have political leaders, in power or out of it, become incapable of dealing with the protestors in a constructive manner? Until we have answered this question, it will be premature to argue that our Constitution and its underlying philosophy have failed us.

In the first two decades after independence there were several mass movements that led to constructive results. One of the most dramatic of these culminated in the formation of the first linguistic state in India, Andhra Pradesh, after the fast unto death of the popular Andhra hero Potti Srimululu. N.T. Rama Rao's return to power after his dismissal from office by the governor emphasises both the role—power of mass involvement in political action and Andhra's pioneering role in strengthening Indian democracy.

Mass mobilisation also led to the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state in 1966 and a territorial reorganisation along ethnic lines in north-east India during the sixties and seventies. The

process demonstrated that confrontations leading to constructive interaction between mass movements and the government enhance its legitimacy even as they make the political process more healthy and vigorous. The key requirement is that the laws of the land should remain in harmony with the changing moral values and attitudes of its people. Disregard of the law by the people is then reduced to the minimum and the citizens' respect for the nation's legal code remains high.

If political leaders and governments in India have in recent years lost the ability to respond constructively to values and the demands of its citizens, we must search here for the causes of this malaise. Pandit Nehru and the leaders of his time reacted with a strong sense of empathy to the demands of the people, even towards those sponsored and led by the opposition. They did not react egoistically or defensively to confrontational movements.

This attitude of detachment strengthened their power and authority. Leaders of the opposition were treated as servants of the nation as much as the ministers themselves. Allegiance to the nation and to its interests and values enabled all of them to act within a perspective that was much broader than that of personal power or narrow party interest. This innate detachment also prevented conflicts from deteriorating to the point where they would become unmanageable.

The present deepening political crisis in India has a psychological dimension to it. Leaders, some in their seventies and eighties, who should set an example of detachment have become involved in a desperate struggle for power and domination. This has generated a vicious circle of competition between those in power and those out of it. A minister who should be a servant of the nation wants to become its master. A presidential system will thus change only the outer form of government, not the deeper political reality. It may even exacerbate the political crisis for it will be an escape from rather than a coming to grips with the real issue. The experience of presidential dictatorships in our neighbourhood provide ample evidence that the people cannot be held on a leash like pets. It also shows that dictators are much less secure than their democratic counterparts.

## Political Crisis

The poet who wrote derisively of forms of government let fools con did not deride politics as such, wanted to draw attention to the tent, the reality, of political life. India, the thoughts and actions of the citizens no less than the leaders provide the content of political life. To run to France or elsewhere in search of an appropriate form of government for India is to make oneself the butt of the poet's wit. We must learn from our own history and from the activists of our mass movements and voluntary organisations, with whom the leaders have to learn to interact with empathy. One can learn from the experience of other countries as Gandhiji did, but one must first know what one is looking for.



# Centre-State Ties

family is or can be free from quarrels. It will be absurd to believe that the family of 600 million Indians will not have its share of tussles and disputes. There is no warrant therefor in taking an alarmist view of the Centre-state tussle that comes to the fore from time to time and has become something of a major issue.

In the light of our experience during the last 33 years, a review of the present pattern of the Centre-state relationship is in any case overdue. Mr. Gandhi's decision to appoint the Sarkaria commission is an adequate and sensible response to this need. All that is required now is that the commission be allowed to function calmly and in a clean atmosphere, not in one of contention, bitterness or wild rhetoric. Demands for greater powers to the states, anti-Centre or even anti-national in character, as the complaint that the states are being treated as the Centre's "serfdoms".

— R. MALHOTRA

Some interesting things happened at the latest meeting of the state chief ministers in New Delhi which attracted the attention of the media. First, Mrs. Indira Gandhi came out of her way to pay a personal call to the chief ministers of the Congress (I) states. For this she was specially picked on by the media. Rama Rao and Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, newly elected chief minister of Andhra Pradesh, were also present. Secondly, even though the set speeches, in advance, the non-Congress chief ministers, including those from Hyderabad, Karnataka, and the Prime Minister's office to them. What is also responded positively to the appeal that the 20-point programme ought not to be a part of her programme, but of the Central government, but of the nation.

For both the content of these extended speeches and the hysterical forecasts after the Bangalore meeting of the non-Congress (I) chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, of a "headlong rush" between the Congress (I) and the non-Congress (I) in the South. In this country, where the third term of the Congress (I) chief ministers is at the New Delhi of chief ministers.

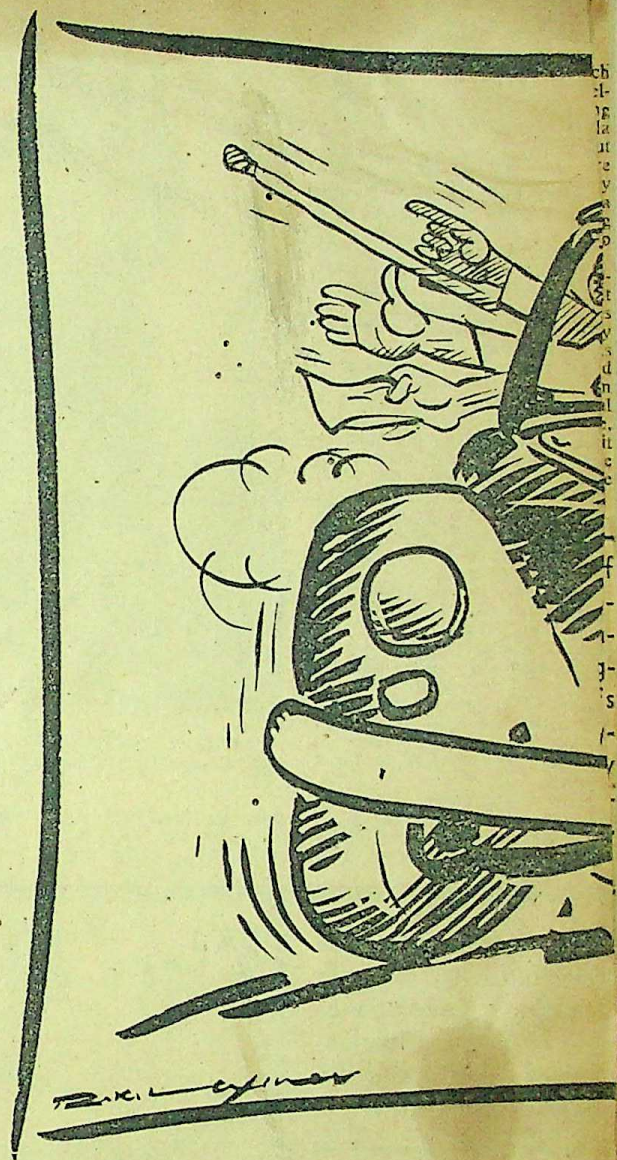
mindful of the immediate occasion or, for the subject under discussion, the Congress (I) chief ministers with one another.

to convert the conference into a forum for singing paeans in praise of Mrs. Gandhi. Many of them, waxed eloquent about Asiad and NAM as if these were the two most important events relevant to the 20-point programme. It must be reported regretfully that some non-Congress (I) chief ministers were appalled at the performance of their opposite numbers from Congress (I)-ruled states. One of them even remarked: "Can't they confine their sycophancy to their party gatherings?"

Two conclusions emerge from all this and it will help if these are firmly kept in view while discussing Centre-state relations. The first is that the issue is extremely complex but tends to be looked at in a highly simplistic manner because either illusions obscure reality or people allow their prejudice and partisanship to cloud their judgement.

Secondly — and more will be said on this critically important subject, later — the decline of the political parties in the country, principally of the Congress (I), ought not to be mistaken for a decay of the system. The Congress (I)'s inability to live up to the historic role assigned to it by the electorate in 1980 and the failure of other parties to produce a credible alternative to it do constitute a major national misfortune. But it does not follow that as a result of them the Indian system is on the brink of collapse though this conclusion is too glibly drawn by too many.

At the same time the need for reform and change in the system is manifest and the demand for a review of the present pattern of Centre-state relations is a function of this need. The Central government's decision to entrust



the task of taking a long, hard look at Centre-state relations to the Sarkaria commission is an adequate response to the situation. All that needs to be done is to finalise the commission's personnel and terms of reference and to let it function in an atmosphere free from tension, bitterness and rancour.

This requires not merely a lowering of the political temperature in Punjab and Assam but, even more so, a suspension at least of the highly inflamed partisan politicking that has unfortunately become a substitute for sound national politics.

It is no mere coincidence that any discussion on Centre-state relations gets polarised into two hostile camps. One denounces every demand or suggestion for greater powers to the states as an anti-Centre or even anti-national exercise. The other accuses the Centre of running the states as its "colonies" or "serfdoms". A more absurd competition in irresponsible rhetoric is difficult to imagine.

Things can be put in perspective.

tive, however, if it is remembered that any controversy over the distribution of powers and duties between the Centre and the states, is by its very nature something of a family quarrel. No family, no matter how small, can be wholly free from friction and dispute. It is therefore preposterous to believe that a family with 680 million members will be

Just as there is a symbiotic continuity and change, between augmenting the Centre and the states which are series but partners.

paragon of perfect harmony. Disputes it is bound to have, especially over the sharing of the family's income and wealth. By the same token, it ought to be clear that the existence of a controversy, tussle or dispute does not mean that the family is about to fall apart.

There was a time, of course,

way, that it would be hard put to it to keep them together ensured their hearts



## A Thought for The Week

Plurality which is not reduced to unity is confusion; unity which does not depend on plurality is tyranny. — PASCAL

# The States Are The Union

It is often said that our constitution is nothing but a glorification of the Government of India Act of 1935. Our founding fathers had in mind the lessons contained in our centuries-old history of warring kingdoms and principalities and were anxious that such unity as the country had achieved during 150 years of British rule was preserved and nurtured. This is reflected in the constitution that they gave us, a constitution that is more unitary than federal. It appeared fine so long as the same party that ruled in the states ruled at the Centre and so long as the prime minister was a lofty personality who transcended party loyalties. It was only after this pattern changed that questions began to be asked if the constitution was adequate to meet the demands of a "plural society."

In the present debate on Centre-state relations, it is forgotten that the Centre would be an abstraction without the states; indeed, it has no identity without the states. It is in this sense that we could say that the states are the Union. This is particularly so because the Centre exists not for itself but for the states which make up the nation. There is, therefore, a case for strengthening the hands of the states. Obviously, it is they who are directly involved with the people in the administration of the country and in fulfilling their aspirations. It would be logical to invest them with greater power and thereby also make them more responsible for the welfare of the people. Today the constitution has become a convenient *alibi* for non-performance.

Admittedly the question is not simple and cannot be solved arithmetically — i.e. adding a few more items to the state list and removing some from the Central list. It is also difficult to maintain the "balance of power" in such a way that by strengthening the states the Centre is not weakened. We must be able to distinguish between legitimate regional demands and regionalism which is often nourished by political parties that have no national vision. In the name of Gandhism, we cannot rush through a programme of decentralisation at the present formative stage of our history without creating cracks in our political set-up and nullifying the gains we have already made as a nation.

We should perhaps review Central-state relations in the light of our experience of the past 33 years. The Sarkaria commission is expected to do precisely this. In 1971 the Rajamannar committee, appointed by the DMK government in Madras, to report on the subject made far-reaching recommendations. The constitution, we must remember, is in the nature of a working hypothesis that is constantly tested. Its effectiveness, however, depends on the individuals who work it. No constitution can provide an apparatus for all time. Centre-state relations will perhaps shape themselves as we grow as a nation. "The mode of government," a philosopher has said, "is incomparably more important for a nation than the form of state."



# Centre-State Relations

## New Situation After The Poll

By A.S. ABRAHAM

IN the memorandum it has submitted to the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-state relations, the Karnataka government has made a number of proposals with far-reaching implications. It wants an inter-state council to be set up, as provided for under Article 263 of the Constitution. This body would serve as a forum for the discussion of central policies affecting the states. For instance, the co-ordination of taxation measures, central investment in states and imbalances in regional development could be brought up in the forum.

The Karnataka government also favours the establishment of a national credit council to consider fiscal and financial policy changes at central and state levels. It proposes, too, the appointment of an *ad hoc* commission to examine thoroughly central and state expenditure and to review the present divisible-pool method, it says, has done "enormous injustice" to them. It wants Article 36 of the Constitution to be urgently modified so as to make the consent of a state legislature a precondition for the introduction in Parliament of any bill affecting that state. It has, furthermore, criticised the "growing tendency of the Centre to have virtual control of all the all-India services in violation of the basic federal structure of the Constitution".

Interestingly, while referring to the fact that the constitutional provision for an inter-state council has not been applied so far, the Karnataka government's memorandum says: "Under a cohesive leadership occupying positions of authority at various levels and dominated by a person like Jawaharlal Nehru with strong democratic instincts and a capacity to share power with outstanding leaders at the state and lower levels, perhaps the need for institutionalising federal relations was not pressing. Now, with a more complex and multi-party structure of governance, the role of bodies like the inter-state council becomes vital".

### Cohesive Leadership

Evidently, the Karnataka government thinks that the kind of federalism it has in mind and of which its memorandum is a blueprint of sorts is both more necessary and more relevant in "a multi-party structure of governance" in the states and, perhaps (as the opposition had fondly hoped before the eighth Lok Sabha elections) even at the Centre. In other words, federalism of this brand presupposes a particular configuration of party-political forces. Where that configuration is substituted by single-party dominance married to sagacious and democratic leadership of the Nehru model (which the memorandum eulogises), tighter central control of the federal set-up not only becomes much less of an evil but even a positive thing.

In that case, what is one to make of the present configuration of party-political forces? One does not know whether the Karnataka government's memorandum was prepared before the outcome of the Eighth Lok Sabha poll, but its thrust now induces a feeling of *deja vu*. For "the multi-party structure of governance" that it says makes the formation of an inter-state council, as well as a loser federal set-up, necessary seemed to many—opposition politicians, political pundits, even a number of Congressmen—to be virtually on the cards before the actual poll outcome turned out to be very different instead.

Until Mrs Gandhi's assassination, the consensus of informed opinion was that the Congress was in a bad way, that it would be hard put to it to

win a comfortable majority, and that it would have to depend on some other parties to further its precarious hold on office. Some sections of the opposition, supported by sections of the media, went still further, envisaging the end of single-party dominance after the poll (which was called only after Mrs Gandhi had been killed) and the start of a new era of coalition politics.

After her assassination the picture, and the opposition expectations that were part of it, changed quite a bit. The new Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, quickly called the election and the opposition apprehended, as the West Bengal chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, was subsequently and glibly to say, that Mrs Gandhi dead would be, if anything, more powerful than Mrs Gandhi alive.

### Antediluvian Relic

Even so, once the campaigning got under way, opposition hopes began to rise again as reports spoke of a weakening of the "sympathy wave" for the Congress. Once again, the more wildly over-optimistic groups among the opposition and their supporters drew up scenarios of a Congress winning at least marginally and needing to be shored up by smaller allies. In any case, the argument went, the Congress under Mrs Gandhi's long stewardship had become faction-ridden, criminalised and corrupt to the core and the rot had gone so deep that its eventual collapse was a matter of time; no one and nothing could, possibly save it.

It was in such a context of impending Congress disaster that the single-party dominance that had characterised our democratic experience was believed to be nearing its end. What was to take its place was a looser, federal, polycentric structure that would more truly reflect the country's social and cultural diversity than the model of single-party dominance had ever been able to do. Such a set-up would not be available ready-made; it would have to evolve gradually through trial and error, but once it did, there could be no going back to single-party dominance which would at last be seen for the antediluvian relic it was. For only a decentralised political system, "a more complex and multi-party structure of governance", could secure our democracy and give all the heterogeneous constituents of our pluralistic society their head. That was the assumption on which scenarios were drawn up for greater autonomy for the states, with the Centre charged with no more than a handful of residual, albeit crucial, responsibilities.

The Karnataka government's memorandum makes us feel that we have been here before because, while it is based on that assumption, it raises the question whether, in view of the Lok Sabha poll outcome and the present structure of governance at the Centre, that assumption has not been invalidated. For what we now have is not a multi-party but very much a single-party structure of governance. True, the picture will be complete only when next month's assembly elections in a clutch of states are over. But even now, one can say that the model of single-party dominance, whose demise was until the other day being widely foretold, has at the very least been rejuvenated and at most has been given us reason to ask whether, far from being an aberration, it is not, in fact, the norm in our experience with democracy.

Those who hold that Mrs Gandhi's insecurity and the authoritarianism that sprang from it together ensured

the degeneration of the Congress beyond remedy might still argue that the poll outcome is no more than a temporary reaffirmation of the party's electoral strength due mainly to special factors (the Punjab events, Mrs Gandhi's assassination, the consolidation of the Hindu vote) that cannot be replicated. All that the Congress victory has accomplished is to delay the party's decline into a corrupt and criminal senescence. From this standpoint, a federal structure that incorporates decentralisation all down the line remains the only feasible and viable alternative, transitory setbacks to its popular acceptance notwithstanding. Should the forthcoming assembly polls throw up a variegated mix of local ruling parties, this view would be strengthened, just as the opposite view, that single-party dominance has been revived, would be strengthened were the Congress to be returned.

To say that the massive Congress victory in the recent Lok Sabha poll may show that single-party dominance, far from being on its last legs, is alive and kicking does not mean that proposals for a looser federal structure, greater autonomy for the states, restricted central powers of intervention in the states, more decentralised administration, and for reviewing the distribution of financial and fiscal authority between the Centre and the states are irrelevant. But it is to challenge the widely held assumption that such federalism is incompatible with single-party dominance. If anything it can be argued that where the same party is in power both at the Centre and in the states (as during Mr Nehru's time, a period the Karnataka government looks back on fondly), the chances of attaining a looser federalism are high than if one or more parties were in office at the Centre and one or more of them in charge of the various states. In a sense, the voters in the states going to the assembly polls early next month are being called upon to decide this issue.

### Dominance

Just as federalism is not incompatible with single-party dominance, so such dominance is not synonymous with the centralisation of authority to the point where local centres of decision-making are rendered useless. If power has over the years tended to vest more and more in the Centre and less and less in the states, that is because of political and economic factors such as the recurrent threats to national unity, the imperatives of development, the spread of a more or less uniform infrastructure of growth, not least modern means of communication, the reach of the electronic media, the introduction of a common educational system, and the emergence of a national market. Power can be centralised by a ruling party within a state just as much as it can be at the Centre. Because the former may be a party other than the Congress, while the latter is the Congress, does not make either kind of centralism any the less real.

Centre-state relations, as the Karnataka government memorandum shows, have been viewed too much, even exclusively, in a party-political context, as a function of whether political power is held by one dominant party or a coalition of various forces. They ought to be seen at least as much in a longer and wider developmental perspective, with single party dominance regarded as no less legitimate a mode of self-governance as the multi-party structure on which the opposition parties continue to set their hearts.



Centre-State Relations  
New Situation After The Pol  
By A. S. ABRAHAM

By A. S. ABRAHAM

**I**N the memorandum it has submitted to the Sarkaria commission on Centre-state relations, the Karnataka government has made a number of proposals with far-reaching implications. It wants an inter-state council to be set up, as provided for under Article 263 of the Constitution. This body would serve as a forum for the discussion of Central policies affecting the states. For instance, the co-ordination of taxation measures, Central investment in states and imbalances in regional development could be brought up in the forum.

The Karnataka government also favours the establishment of a national credit council to consider fiscal and financial policy changes at Central and state levels. It proposes, too, the appointment of an ad hoc commission to examine thoroughly Central and state expenditure and to review the present, divisible-pool method of allocating resources to the states. This method, it says, has done "enormous injustice" to them. It wants Article 3 of the Constitution to be urgently modified so as to make the consent of a state legislature a precondition for the introduction in Parliament of any bill affecting that state. It has, furthermore, criticised the "growing tendency of the Centre to have virtual control of all the all-India services in violation of the basic federal structure of the Constitution".

## Democratic Instincts

Interestingly, while referring to the fact that the constitutional provision for an inter-state council has not been applied so far, the Karnataka government's memorandum says: "Under a cohesive leadership occupying positions of authority at various levels and dominated by a person like Jawaharlal Nehru with strong democratic instincts and a capacity to share power with outstanding leaders at the state and lower levels, perhaps the need for institutionalising federal relations was not pressing. Now, with a more complex and multi-party structure of governance the role of bodies like the inter-state council becomes vital."

Evidently, the Karnataka government thinks that the kind of federalism it has in mind and of which its memorandum is a blueprint of sorts is both more necessary and more relevant in "a multi-party structure of governance" in the states and perhaps (as the opposition had fondly hoped before the eighth Lok Sabha elections) even at the Centre. In other words, federalism of this brand presupposes a particular configuration of party-political forces. Where that configuration is substituted by single-party dominance married to sagacious and democratic leadership on the Nehru model (which the memorandum eulogises), tighter Central control of the federal set-up not only becomes much less of an evil but even a positive thing.

In that case, what is one to make of the present configuration of party-political forces? One does not know whether the Karnataka government's memorandum was prepared before the outcome of the eighth Lok Sabha poll, but its thrust now induces a feeling of *deja vu*. For "the multi-party structure of governance" that it says makes the formation of an inter-state council, as well as a larger federal set-up, necessary seemed to many—opposition politicians, political pundits, even a

bad way, that it would be hard put to it to win a comfortable majority, and that it would have to depend on some other parties to further its precarious hold on office. Some sections of the opposition, supported by sections of the media, went still further, envisaging the end of single-party dominance after the poll (which was called only after Mrs Gandhi had been killed) and the start of a new era of coalition politics.

After her assassination, the picture, and the opposition expectations that were part of it, changed quite a bit. The new Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, quickly called the election and the opposition apprehended, as the West Bengal chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, was subsequently and ruefully to say, that Mrs Gandhi dead would be, if anything, more powerful than Mrs Gandhi alive.

Even so, once the campaigning got under way, opposition hopes began to rise again as reports spoke of a weakening of the "sympathy wave" for the Congress. Once again, the more wildly optimistic groups among the opposition and their supporters drew up scenarios of a Congress winning at least marginally and needing to be shored up by smaller allies. In any case, the argument went, the Congress under Mrs Gandhi's long stewardship had become faction-ridden, criminalised and corrupt to the core and the rot had gone so deep that its eventual collapse was a matter of time; no one and nothing could possibly save it.

It was in such a context of impending Congress disaster that the single-party dominance that had characterised our democratic experience was believed to be nearing its end. What was to take its place was a looser, federal, polycentric structure that would more truly reflect the country's social and cultural diversity than the model of single-party dominance had ever been able to do. Such a set-up would not be available ready-made; it would have to evolve gradually through trial and error, but once it did, there could be no going back to single-party dominance which would at last be seen for the antediluvian relic it was. For only a decentralised political system, "a more complex and multi-party structure of governance", could secure our democracy and give all the heterogeneous constituents of our pluralistic society their head. That was the assumption on which the scenarios were drawn up for greater autonomy for the states, with the Centre charged with no more than a handful of residual, albeit crucial, responsibilities.

## Present Structure

The Karnataka government's memorandum makes us feel that we have been here before because, while it is based on that assumption, it raises the question whether, in view of the Lok Sabha poll outcome and the present structure of governance at the Centre, that assumption has not been invalidated. For what we now have is not a multi-party but very much a single-party structure of governance. True, the picture will be complete only when next month's assembly elections in a clutch of states are over. But even now, one can say that the model of single-party dominance, whose demise was until the other day being widely foretold, has at the very least been reinforced.

together ensured  
of the Congress  
might still arise.  
come is no more  
reaffirmation of  
total strength due  
factors (the pro-  
Gandhi's assassi-  
nation of 1948)  
cannot be repeated  
Congress victory  
is to delay the pro-  
a corrupt and mis-  
from (his) state-  
structure that has  
rationalisation all down  
the only feasible al-  
native, transitory to  
popular acceptance  
ing. Should the  
nearly 100 years  
mix of local  
view would be  
as the opposite  
party dominance  
ted, would be

Reviewing

To say that the victory in the recent poll may show that dominance, far from last legs, is alive and not mean that the looser federal autonomy for the states, more decentralisation, and for distribution of financial authority between the states are intended to challenge the assumption that such incompatibility with dominance. If anyone argued that where it is in power both in the states (as during time, a period the government looks back at chances of attaining) are higher and more parades were in Centre and one of in charge of the various sense, the votes is going to the assembly next month are being to decide this issue

Just as federalism is compatible with singleness of command, so such centralism is synonymous with the concentration of authority in the local centres of decision. These are rendered useless if, over the years, tended to become more and more in the Centre, and less in the states, and because of political and economic factors such as the need for national unity, the need for development, the spread of more or less uniform standards of growth, not least the means of communication, the use of the electronic media, the production of a common legal system, and the emergence of a national market, power is centralised by a ruling state just as much as it is in the Centre. Because of this, it may be a party other than the Centre, while the Congress, does not mean the Congress, while the Congress, does not mean the Congress, and of centralism also.

Centre-state relations in Karnataka government has been shown, even exclusively, in a political context, as a factor in whether political power is held by one dominant party or a coalition of various forces.

HIS  
also,  
ject fo  
weight  
tional  
more t  
cance  
nationa  
not equ  
in all  
tion  
ethos.

The  
India,  
of its  
borders  
north-w  
ture of  
of vie  
and co  
velopm  
above  
illiterat  
populls  
the res  
policies  
bind th  
togethe  
your o

The  
bated t  
between  
States  
the Com  
of the  
member  
ed una  
ought  
face  
emerge  
externa  
member  
would  
were re  
municip  
poration  
the pro  
through  
sensus  
sient d  
bate

Dr. I  
of the  
Constitu  
us that  
a nation  
Centre  
the mo  
can m  
to prog  
united  
ing; I  
and va  
gration  
tural i  
clent.

When  
try for  
govern  
convey  
Jawah  
Minist  
satisfie  
meetin  
cils. If  
nation  
the

Alon  
guistic  
that p  
local c  
solved  
had n  
nist m  
himself  
Nator  
ing ha



# THE CENTRE-STATE RELATIONSHIP

By R. R. Diwakar

HIS has been, and is today also, a very important subject for giving full thought and weight. It has its own constitutional importance; but much more than that, it has significance from the point of view of national integration, equitable if not equal development of people in all the States and consolidation of 'Bharatiya' national ethos.

The geo-political position of India, the vastness and variety of its territory, the vulnerable borders in the north-east and north-west, the pluralistic structure of the society from the point of view of religions, languages and communities, the uneven development in different States, and above all, the ease with which illiterate masses are moved by populist parochial slogans, and the resulting unrest, demand policies and programmes which bind the Centre and the States together in the common endeavour of national reconstruction.

The Constituent Assembly debated threadbare the relationship between the Centre and the States. The present provisions in the Constitution are the result of the consensus among the members. There was unquestioned unanimity that the Centre ought to be strong enough to face any eventually and/or emergency, internal as well as external. At the same time, members felt that democracy would be a mockery if the States were reduced to the position of municipalities or municipal corporations. This basic approach to the problem was kept in view throughout the debate. The consensus was arrived at after sufficient deliberation and full debate.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, had warned all of us that we Indians were still not a nation, we had yet to be one. Centre-State relations is one of the most sensitive spots which can make or mar our prospects to progress as a prosperous united nation. Personally speaking, I have always given priority and valued greatly national integration. Apart from the recent political integration, India's cultural integration has been ancient, continuous and abiding.

When Burma created a ministry for integration in its own government, I remember to have conveyed a similar idea to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister. But we were all along satisfied with only occasional meetings of Integration Councils. If only India lives as a nation, all her States too will live and prosper.

Along with formation of linguistic states in 1956, one wishes that problems of language and local cultures were sought to be solved in the Russian way—which had nothing to do with communist methods. Under Lenin, Stalin himself was the Commissar for Nationalities. It is very interesting how he created confidence in so on. The third thing was the

The sensitive issue of Centre-State relations has been under debate in the last few months, and the Centre has appointed the Justice R. S. Sarkaria Commission to study the problem and recommend measures to place relations between the Centre, and the States on a rational basis.

In this context, 'The Pioneer' has arranged for a series of articles by eminent political figures expressing the differing points of view on the subject. This article is by former Information and Broadcasting Minister, Mr. R. R. Diwakar.

Socialist leader Madhu Limaye's article on the topic will appear tomorrow.

the minds of the people of several nationalities in Russia, that their language and culture would not only be safeguarded but developed to the fullest possible extent. Many of the 60 current languages there, had to be provided with scripts and today there are encyclopedias in every one of them.

Unfortunately today in India, after 35 years of freedom, 65 per cent of the population is still illiterate—education having been only a State subject for 30 years. And illiteracy is no friend or promoter of development of any kind—except of blind voting, caste-wise or money-wise!

Free India launched on the adventure of modernising right from the beginning and it was the exclusive privilege of the Centre to do so. From the broad national point of view, and from the point of view of creating an industrial infrastructure and food production, the Centre has made some substantial progress. Financial allocations too were wholly centralised. The plea of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who represented the peoples' Gandhian point of view, to plan from the rural village level and from grassroots, was rejected out of hand. Those who pleaded for planning at the state-level too had scant success.

Both in the matter of planning and allocation of funds, those States which had a pull at the Centre partially succeeded in pushing their own claims and demands. Others felt neglected if not despised. The National Development Council meetings of the Centre and the States proved to be mostly 'yes' parties.

For amelioration of this situation the Centre took some steps after close thinking. The Finance Commission (the 8th commission is now sitting) was devised to allocate Central revenues to the States. On the whole, the device has helped in removing some anomalies and grievances of the States. The University Grants Commission has been functioning for years and has lightened the burden of universities in the States in the matter of special studies, buildings, research and so on. The third thing was the

adoption by consensus of the three-language formula in all the States. Though this was arrived at unanimously, it is hardly being implemented seriously in the northern states.

The constitutional provisions in regard to Centre-State relations worked comparatively smoothly till 1967. The reasons are obvious. The great personality of Pandit Nehru and his suave manners and sweet relationship with all his colleagues, both at the Centre and in the States did not show up any fissures in the day-to-day working.

Another important factor was that the same political party, namely the Congress, was in power both at the Centre and in the States, so that even grave disparities adjusted themselves at the party level, without being exposed to public view and open criticism.

It was in 1967 that in some of the States, either coalitions or non-Congress Governments came to power, and open tensions began to develop. But even so, it was not so much the provisions of the Constitution which began to be felt irksome, as the manner and method of working between the Congress-dominated Centre and the non-Congress ministries in some States, that relation began to deteriorate fast.

As the final sequel of this deterioration and to stem the tide of further dissatisfaction among the non-Congress (i) dominated States, the Sarkaria Commission and its auxiliaries have been appointed recently by the Central Government. In between, the non-Congress Tamil Nadu Government had appointed the Rajamannar Committee to ventilate the disaffection of the States.

But that was independently of the Centre. That Committee's report too is available. It will, of course, take a long time before we have an exhaustive report on the subject by the Sarkaria Commission. Further, there will be another longish wait for implementation of the accepted provisions of the report.

In the meanwhile relations between the Centre and several States have become strained to such an extent that the Prime Minister, on behalf of her party and the Government she heads, has had to reiterate from time to time that there was no intention to destabilise or topple the non-Congress (i) State Governments. Similarly, the Chief Ministers of these States have been saying that they have no intention to have a confrontation with the Centre.

Regional political parties, by product of the situation, were also anathema to the Central Government's leadership. But the Central Government's policies as well as statements—for example, that it is always desirable, nay advisable, that the State Governments should be such as would fall in line with the Centre, or that the officials of the Government should be a 'committed' lot—provided obvious signals of the domineering trends of unitary power structure. The States, however, would emphasise and opt for a federal structure which stands for sharing power.

understand that every hallmark of democratic be judged by the 'dissidents' which dissents. only 'cracy' h' dissent, as o monopolise

come of the and, what- would be in and or in sary for them he people to ernments as- swearing by the Indian f the Indian party pledges in the course

on and peo- are. The ates are but e body poli- nment of y have to and har- ng to over- other. There uch working he Constitu- and its pro- y. No other ntal 1/ of



# ASPECTS OF CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS-II

By MADHU LIMAYE

THE partition settlement of 1947 rudely shook the foundations of a balanced relationship between a strong but limited Centre on the one hand and largely autonomous provinces on the other hand.

The central leaders—Nehru and Patel—now decided to apply brakes to the tendencies towards provincial autonomy. They resolved to extend control over the whole field of economic and industrial development, and also decided to retain most of the obnoxious features of the Government of India Act of 1935 which enabled the Centre not only to intervene in the affairs of the States but, in the name of breakdown of constitutional machinery, impose President's rule. They also armed the Centre with power to extend President's rule.

The actual working of the Constitution and the fact that the same party wielded power both at the Centre and in the States enabled the powerful central leadership (of the Congress) to exercise even more rigorous control than the wording of the constitutional provisions and visualised. In the High Command they had devised 10 years ago an effective instrument of control. Mrs Gandhi has reinforced it.

The economy of scarcity allowed the Central Government to appropriate to itself enormous powers to distribute essential commodities in short supply.

It was the Centre which now made allocations of food grains, fertilisers, sugar, kerosene, cement, steel and coal, and other basic goods. The Central Government could hereafter discriminate against recalcitrant States controlled by non-Congress parties in a subtle manner.

The Central Government's sources of revenue were flexible, buoyant and expanding. The potential tax revenue of the States was limited. They were further inhibited by the fact that additional taxation measures would be extremely unpopular. After all it was the local government which had to face the people's wrath. Law and order was their responsibility.

Constitution with the heavy responsibility of providing basic social and welfare services to the people. Provision of drinking water, sanitation and health services, education, especially primary and secondary, building of roads and bridges and so on are all responsibilities of the State Governments. It is a misnomer to call our nation a welfare state. Even 33 years after the coming into force of our republican constitution we have neither been able to provide pure drinking water to over 25 per cent of villages nor implement the directive principle in regard to free and compulsory elementary education.

If we wish to implement the more important directive principles (Chapter IV) which are stated to be fundamental in the governance of the country the Sarkaria Commission must enable the States to secure sufficient financial resources to discharge their duty.

To enable a healthy growth of Centre-State relations both fiscal measures and political-cum-constitutional remedies will have to be devised. The following points need to be considered seriously:

(1) The area of discretionary transfers should be reduced, and the States should be given sufficient, independent, non-discretionary financial resources

(2) The Planning Commission and the Finance Commission should be amalgamated and a combined commission set up as a permanent and continuing statutory body; this body should be autonomous and should contain representatives of the States and the Government of the day should not interfere in its working; the Government may, however, issue general guidelines as is being done in the case of the Reserve Bank.

(3) The institution of inter-state council should be brought into being. Article 263 of the Constitution has made provision for this, but it has been put in cold storage largely because those who control the Centre felt that such a council would result in the diminution of Centre's powers.

(4) There is a large element of grants in the sharing of tax proceeds. In the interest of financial discipline it is necessary to eliminate the element of grant.

Lists. The trend so far has been to transfer subjects from the State List to the Concurrent List. The Sarkaria panel should reverse the trend. It must examine what subjects could be transferred exclusively to States jurisdiction without detriment to national unity.

The loudest outcry against the Centre's interference in the affairs of the States has been in regard to the abuse of Governors' powers. The dismissal of two Governors by Mrs Gandhi was a move calculated to cool the incumbents and future appointees into submission to the dictates of the Centre. This was most objectionable.

I think there is need to take away from the Governors and the President the right—whether discretionary or exercised on advice—to dissolve the legislatures. Misuse of Article 356 in the name of constitutional breakdown must also be prevented. We must have a fixed 5-year term, and simultaneous elections to Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabhas and all local bodies. This would reduce drastically the election expenditure and thereby eliminate a main source of corruption. It would also remove the possibility of the abuse of Governor's powers.

This change should be coupled with a good anti-defection law. Defection should be discouraged by laying down the rule that parties which admit defectors would be instantly derecognised for a period of five years, and further that those who change their party affiliation would not be given any office, involving material benefit, any kind whatever, for the next five years.

It is not proper to deprive the legislators of their right of dissent and make them subservient to the party bosses. What is needed is not a new slave army in the legislatures but an effective curb on defections born out of lust of pelf and power.

There is an essential and well recognised distinction between a principled dissenter and an opportunist defector. Jayaprakash Narayan understood this clearly; the issue was deliberately befogged by those with authoritarian tendencies and aspirations to boss rule.

In the discussion of the problem of political centralisation, often a one-sided emphasis is laid on the Centre-State relations. While there is a definite danger of an overwhelmingly strong Centre overshadowing the States eclipsing the local self-governing institutions is even graver.

CONCLUDED



# Mrs Gandhi's

## In Focus

newspaperman with the skills of a negotiator the temperament of a civil servant is a rare of person. Parthasarathy is precisely that... of an opponent's resistance instead of ing it at a stroke, he gently makes a dent in armour of the opposite side in the easy er—as they say in the South—of sticking dle in a banana.

is tempted to compare palaswami Parthasara- with Averell Harriman. U.S. statesman had of to the greater stature sphere of activity was rger than that of the In- format. He was also a far ceeful personality. Even asarathy is not altogether him. As Mrs Gandhi's hooter and as envoy to countries he has earned a n hardly equalled by plomats of his time in this Like Harriman he is not by the magnitude of a nor by its prickliness. He ights in unravelling tangl- as: A.H. probably on oc- id the opposite — he tied n knots. G.P. is a crafts- diplomacy rather than a n. He is a plodder though eans in a derogatory sense word, for he often outdis- those who take long strides to see the things on the

arthasarathy is not exactly a diplomat; he was not drawn ublic life either. He is a t turned diplomat. A news- an with the skills of a ne- and the temperament of a rrvant is a rare kind of per- thasarathy is precisely that. chment of the civil servant herited from his father, N. am Iyengar, who rose to f Jammu and Kashmir e Madras provincial ser- ngar was a super bureau- o successively held a num- portfolios under Nehru in on cabinet. Panditji relied on him, but though Iyen-

gar was an able administrator he was not much of a diplomat.

Like his father, G.P. has the capacity to master the facts of a case but he, in addition, possesses what his father lacked — persuasiveness. Combined with it is immense patience. He erodes an opponent's resistance instead of breaking it at a stroke: he gently makes a dent in the armour of the opposite side in the easy manner — as they say in the South — of sticking a needle in a banana.

Parthasarathy was recently appointed chairman of the policy planning committee in the external affairs ministry, a post he had held during 1975-77. Earlier, however, he had the rank only of a minister of state, now he has that of a cabinet minister. The present arrangement perhaps suits the temperament of a man who is averse to taking up a political appointment. The same job with the same cabinet rank was held by D. P. Dhar in 1971, but that was specifically to deal with the Bangladesh problem. G.P., the Tamil Brahmin, is totally different from the somewhat florid Kashmiri pandit. He has remained unobtrusive all these 30 years of his diplomatic career, even when it seemed recently that P. V. Narasimha Rao was superfluous as foreign minister.

No other living Indian diplomat has had such a varied experience as G.P. It was Nehru who first drafted him to diplomacy from journalism. In 1954 he was made chairman of the three-power international commission for supervision and control in Cambodia and later held a similar office in Vietnam. He has been our envoy to Indonesia, China and Pakistan and has been permanent represen-

tative at the United Nations. His term in China was troubled for that was the time when our big neighbour's smile turned into an angry grin. Some journalists believe that his despatches were ignored by New Delhi and the country thereby paid a price for the neglect. One cannot, however, be sure of this. Nehru himself gave G.P. at the time a rare compliment in the Lok Sabha. He said: "I should like to say that our ambassador in China is one of the persons whose work and whose general advice we respect very highly. He is working in a very difficult position in China and, as the House can very well appreciate, he is performing that task with great ability and forbearance."

One of his difficult tasks as trouble-shooter for Mrs Gandhi was holding talks with Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg in 1974 for an accord on the Kashmir set-up. His efforts in recent months for an understanding with Sri Lanka on the question of the Tamils in that island have been less successful than all his previous diplomatic excursions. He has kept shuttling between New Delhi and Colombo and often a settlement has deceptively appeared on the horizon. Much of the difficulty in finding a solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka stems from the fact that President Jayewardene cannot free himself from the pressure exerted by Sinhalese hardliners — and a majority of Sinhalese are hardliners.

G.P., though not the ebullient type, is a friendly man. He was educated in Madras and at Oxford where he took an honours degree in modern history. He worked for a brief spell with *The Times*, London, and later joined *The Hindu*. One of the former editors of the Madras paper was A. Rangaswami Iyengar, one of the most influential journalists of his time. A. R. Iyengar was G.P.'s paternal uncle. Parthasarathy was on the staff of *The Hindu* from 1936 to 1949, that is until his appointment as representative of the PTI in London. One remembers reading his editorial comments on cricket matches during those 13 years, though one does not remember any of his writings that revealed the mind of the future diplomat and foreign affairs expert. His marriage to Subur, who belonged to



a Parsi family in Calicut, showed that this quiet, soft-spoken man could be defiant: he belonged to a conservative family and marriages such as his were frowned upon in those times as now, particularly in the South. Subur distinguished herself as a teacher (she taught at Queen Mary's College and was principal of Ethiraj College, Madras) and was a Rajya Sabha member. Her husband himself was for some years vice-chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Foreign affairs is no longer as "glamorous" as it used to be in the halcyon days of Nehru. Today our internal problems claim almost all our attention. Notwith-

standing the contrary feelings aroused by the Prime Minister no one will dispute that she carries an awesome burden. That foreign policy is in the hands of a man like Parthasarathy is reassuring.

G.P., a one-time cricketer himself, has something of the captain in him and he is capable of leading a team. One must also remember that he belongs to a generation when cricket was cricket. Aggressive diplomacy has perhaps its place in these harsh times. But the man who stands for fair play and civilized values will eventually have the last word.

QUAR



## A Thought for U

Woman has rightly been called  
We owe it to her and to ourselves  
wrong that we have done her.

—MOHANDAS KAR.

## Indian Women

Towards the rather sad end of  
career, Jawaharlal Nehru was asked  
greatest achievement as Prime Minister.  
He paused for a moment and then said  
On a surface view, this was a surprise.  
On a surface view, this was a surprise.  
know only too well had laid the foundation  
industrial and agricultural growth &  
serve its political autonomy in the  
could well have been proud of what  
these fields during his stewardship.  
of non-alignment did not appear in  
context or the Chinese aggression  
spoken of his role in demonstrating  
the newly independent countries of  
America to avoid cold war entanglement  
to Mao Zedong's pronouncement  
no he was looking not for a surface  
catalyst which would help revolution  
whole and he realised that women  
such a catalyst. Events have shown  
was. The rise of the Indian woman  
history.

Only those who are old enough  
ed was the condition of the woman  
to independence can appreciate the  
that has taken place in three brief  
married when they were still in their  
was out of the question even in up  
and this condition was generally put  
the primary or at the most school  
metropolitan cities such as Calcutta  
Madras. Most educated girls lapsed  
housewives on marriage. In rural  
girls were deliberately under-nourished  
the outside world. All in all, our  
existence which allowed them little  
development as human beings. So  
change in just three decades that it  
recall the past. It cannot be anybody  
have achieved equality with men.  
denied that they are now well set  
goal. The progress is, as was only to  
noticeable among middle and upper  
families in big cities than among  
But there is no group which is not

The single working woman,  
the most eloquent expression of  
speaking about. She is unconvention  
ing alone, often in a different city  
might not have chosen to be uncon  
been forced to move away. But it  
more important than the circum  
compelled or persuaded her to do  
problems. Unwelcome attention  
Uncharitable comments or old-f  
women secure in their self-righte  
another. But, as in the far more  
problem is loneliness. While it is  
to be harassed just because she is  
does not have friends, Loneliness  
There is, however, no general pro  
fight her own battle; single men can be as miserable as single  
women. Revolutions are demanding. They exact a heavy  
price, especially from those who symbolise it. As the saying  
goes, revolutions devour their own children—not just in the  
crude sense of a Stalin telling fellow communists but in the  
deeper sense of the architects having to pay for the change  
with their happiness and even lives.

Letter From New Del

## Controversy over Presidential

By S.R. Soni

THE All-India Congress Commit-  
tee has come out with a timely  
clarification of its position with re-  
gard to the current controversy with-  
in the party about whether the  
existing system of government  
should not be discarded in favour of  
the Presidential one. In doing so it  
has dissociated the party from all  
glib talks about the excellence of  
the Presidential system. At the  
same time it has allowed the cru-  
sading Mr. Vasant Sathe, Minister  
for Chemicals and fertilisers, full  
freedom to propagate his views.  
Author of a tract on the Presidential  
system Mr. Sathe has become its  
leading exponent. As a good sales-  
man he has had a couple of well-at-  
tended dinners laid on at which he  
was able to steer the discussion in  
favour of his thesis. At one of these  
so-called 'workshops' the drift of  
the discussion as reported in new-  
spapers, left an impression that the  
ruling party was contemplating an  
early switchover to the Presidential  
system.

The impression angered six  
Congress MPs out of the Group of  
Twelve who have made it their busi-  
ness to react to any and every situa-  
tion that in their instant judgment  
may jeopardise the party interest.  
And they reacted sharply to the din-  
ner discussion taking Mr. Sathe to  
task for indulging in wild talk and  
advocating a new system of govern-  
ment unauthorisedly. So scarify-  
ing was the critics' criticism of his  
pursuit that Mr. Sathe, a reputedly  
loyal party member, wondered  
publicly why he had been abused  
and called an irresponsible person.  
He had been he said only carrying  
on the debate which had initially  
started with Mrs. Gandhi's bless-  
ings.

### CLARIFICATION

The AICC's clarification could be  
construed as giving him a licence  
even though a dubious one to  
preach his views. Whether Mr.  
Sathe will make use of this licence  
to organise more dinner discus-  
sions to convert the party to his way  
of thinking remains to be seen. In  
Rashtrapati Bhavan, where he had  
gone to witness the swearing-in of  
Mr. R. Venkataraman, as Vice-  
President Mr. Sathe was heard to re-  
cite a Sanskrit sloka in support of  
his belief that something will come  
out of the discussion he has initi-  
ated.

Still the question is asked why  
was there so much ado about so  
little. It is not as though the Con-  
gress Party is divided on the issue. It

has had, in the past its no-changers  
and pro-changers. By and large,  
the present Congress has been  
conservative in outlook.

### HOSTILE ATTENTION

A Presidential system is sup-  
posed to go well with conservat-  
ism. Which is why the Lok Dal chief,  
Mr. Charan Singh, for one, has been  
proclaiming from the house-tops  
that he is definitely prejudiced in fa-  
vour of the Presidential system. So  
in a way Mr. Sathe is preaching to  
the converted both in his own party  
and among the oppositionists. The  
reason why he attracted hostile at-  
tention from a handful members of  
his party colleagues lay in the con-  
text in which he had been advocat-  
ing the Presidential system. He had  
forecast some time ago that the  
coming election would make for  
political instability at the Centre in  
so far as no party in his opinion was  
likely to be returned with an abso-  
lute majority. This prediction was  
made long before the recent fluc-  
tuations in the popularity of the go-  
verning party.

As a matter of fact most experts  
are agreed that the Congress  
would be lucky if it could get 250 out  
of the 542 Lok Sabha seats be-  
cause their own estimates of its  
chances stop at 220 seats. What Mr.  
Arun Nehru's celebrated computer  
has to say on the subject is his se-  
cret.

Intelligence reports are sel-  
dom trustworthy. This is why Mr.  
Chandra Shekhar has been saying  
that Mrs. Gandhi is not going to call  
the election as scheduled. How she  
can postpone the evil day for all par-  
ties has gone unexplained. Mr.  
Shekhar has now Mrs. Gandhi's re-  
ported Calcutta statement to fortify  
him in his belief, she has said that  
the election will be held in "due  
course". The shift of emphasis from  
"election as scheduled" to "election  
in due course" is just confusing. To  
sow or spread confusion in the op-  
position ranks on the eve of a gen-  
eral election is a legitimate weapon  
to employ.

Despite the nagging uncertainty  
about the rulers' poll plans or be-  
cause of it the opposition is keep-  
ing its powder dry. That it has yet to  
achieve anything like workable un-  
ity and speak with one voice before  
the electorates goes without say-  
ing. Yet it is fortunate in one respect.  
In some four hundred out of the 542  
Parliamentary constituencies the

leading parties have  
tive spheres of  
clearly demarcated  
terests do not colli-  
marginally. To illus-  
are well entrenched  
and tripura and con-  
force to reckon with  
any opposition party  
BJP has a stronger  
Pradesh, Rajasthan  
Pradesh than any  
Party is in the saddle  
far-in Karnataka and  
led in Bihar.

The City  
better off than any  
party in Maharashtra  
tion of these real-  
cerned will leave  
constituencies where  
of most opposition  
most irreconcilably

The Marxist nos-  
tments are possible  
only at the State level

go down with most  
The Two States where  
will present insur-  
culties are Uttar Pra-  
which between the  
count for as many  
seats. In these con-  
interests of almost  
parties clash. Mr.  
recognised as the  
factor.

But a threat  
is, now posed by  
Gandhi who is cre-  
to field the Sanjay  
dates in 61 out of  
tary constituencies

### CONFUSION

Already, the op-  
themselves in a  
They are at a loss  
a valedictory gross  
outgoing MPs was  
why the "Speaker  
har, had felt it so ne-  
members for their  
the end of the Lok  
soon session on a  
more session west  
fore the election was  
valedictory gesture  
the prognostication  
general secretary  
Gandhi and Dr. R.  
Bajpai — who had  
told that the last  
in all likelihood the  
series.

## The — Recogn

the night of Decem-  
1984, an unprecedented  
disaster occurred in B  
endously described  
oshima. Methyl isoc-  
a highly toxic gas  
the chemical plant of  
in large quantities.  
people were killed and  
suffered injuries, so  
transatlantic ambu-  
moved with jet speed  
ber 7, 1984, the first la-  
Union Carbide Corpora-  
American parent company

States on behal-  
nds of hapless Indian vi-  
less clients. Since the  
actions have commen-  
At present there are  
involving approxi-  
plaintiffs, of whom o-  
Americans. These have  
and assigned to  
district court of New  
in Texas and another  
court.

### Suits

one representative  
filed in the district co-  
in which damages o-  
res have been claim-  
Individual suits have  
by individual plainti-  
pal district court claim-  
talling Rs. 162 crore  
3.85 the Bhopal Gas  
(Processing of Claims)  
enacted. Section 3 o-

ides that the govern-  
the exclusive right  
persons who have ma-  
to make claims and  
Bhopal disaster. Chal-  
stitutionality of the A-  
in the Supreme Co-  
the government of I-  
itself as plaintiff in al-  
India, got them  
and surprisingly, also  
stayed.

Bhopal Act the gov-  
India chose its forum  
district court of New Y-  
claims asking "for re-  
those claimed in the  
by American lawyers  
numerous Indian vict-  
Indian victims could  
in appropriate court  
the choice was theirs,  
eral rule the plain-  
It is not to be lig-  
Yet Judge Keenan pa-  
India and for the  
them high and dry.  
Because where  
is the home of  
is entitled to respect;  
plaintiff's choice "deser-  
ce". Courts in Ame-  
icious about respect  
choice when he is no  
tizen or a resident b-  
en who seeks to ben-  
of U.S.A. which  
of large damages.



# The Keenan Decision

## — Recognising Merits Of Our System

By SOLI J. SORABJEE

On the night of December 2-3, 1984, an unprecedented industrial disaster occurred in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. Methyl isocyanate, a highly toxic gas leaked from a chemical plant of Union Carbide Corporation. Over 200 people were killed and about 200,000 suffered injuries, some of which are serious and permanent. A transatlantic ambulance moved with jet speed. On December 7, 1984, the first lawsuit was filed in the district court of New York, New York. The American parent company, was sued by American lawyers in the States on behalf of the hapless Indian victims, who are helpless clients. Since then actions have commenced in various courts. At present there are 145 suits involving approximately 100 plaintiffs, of whom only 9 are Americans. These have been filed in the district court of New York, New York and another in Texas and another in India.

The Marxist nostril is at the State level. The State is down with most of the two States where the present insurrection is. The two States where the present insurrection is are Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The two States where the present insurrection is are Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The two States where the present insurrection is are Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

The Marxist nostril is at the State level. The State is down with most of the two States where the present insurrection is. The two States where the present insurrection is are Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The two States where the present insurrection is are Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

But a threat is now posed by a Gandhi who is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi.

CONFUSION. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi.

Already, the opposition is at a loss. The opposition is at a loss. The opposition is at a loss. The opposition is at a loss.

But a threat is now posed by a Gandhi who is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi.

CONFUSION. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi. The Sanjay Gandhi is created in the field the Sanjay Gandhi.

Besides, courts do not favour forum shopping. A plaintiff cannot select his forum solely to take advantage of favourable law or merely because the prospects of success are brighter and the recoveries larger. The court of appeal in England upset one Dr Bloch's forum shopping in America and enjoined him from proceeding with his suit filed in a Pennsylvania court for damages against an American parent company that had a subsidiary company in England, despite the fact that he would get higher damages in America, have the benefit of trial by jury as well as the convenience of lawyers on contingency fees. These advantages, according to the court, are not "legitimate".

Likewise there can be no reverse forum shopping either. The defendant cannot displace the plaintiff's choice and require him to proceed in another forum merely because the law and procedures governing that forum are more favourable to the defendant with respect to proof of liability or quantum of damages. The crux of the matter is that no litigant has an inborn right to choose his forum or to dictate one. The decision rests with the court which must hold the balance fairly between the plaintiff and the defendant. In this balancing act courts (not in England) apply the doctrine of "forum non conveniens".

What does this strange high-sounding expression mean? It does not mean simply an inconvenient forum. The essence of this doctrine - which originated in Scotland and is recognised by its law - is that a court even though it possesses proper jurisdiction over the parties and the subject matter, may in its discretion decline or relinquish jurisdiction in a case when it is of the opinion that the end of justice would be better served by trial of the case in another forum. There is no injustice in asking a man to go home and sue in his own courts. But will he get justice there? Ay, there's the rub, because notions of justice notoriously differ and judicial chauvinism can lead judges into the temptation of feeling superior. Lord Denning could not resist it when in the course of his judgment in 1972 he extended an invitation for forum shopping in England to any friendly foreigner because, "if the forum is England, it is a good place to shop in, both for the quality of the goods and the speed of service."

### Courts' Discretion

The House of Lords did not approve and Denning was roundly reproved by Lord Reid: "With all respect, that seems to me to recall the good old days, the passing of which many may regret, when inhabitants of this island felt an innate superiority over those unfortunate enough to belong to other races." At present judicial chauvinism is on the retreat. Judges are more in tune

with the spirit of humility displayed by the great American Judge Cardozo: "We are not so provincial as to say that every solution of a problem is wrong because we dealt with it otherwise at home...."

Today it is forbidden to make invidious comparisons about the quality of justice dispensed in courts of other countries, and "complex exercises in comparable law" have to be avoided. A mere showing that the law that would be applied in the alternative forum is less favourable to the plaintiff's chance of recovery than the law governing the forum of his choice does not make it inadequate. According to the Supreme Court of America, the fact that damages awarded may be smaller in the home courts of the claimants is not by itself a ground for inferring inadequacy of that forum. Of course, if the remedy provided by the alternative forum is so patently unsatisfactory that it is no remedy at all, or there is a real danger that the plaintiff would be treated unfairly by reason of absence of fair hearing, or presence of religious, racial or political bias, then it can be said that there is no alternative adequate forum.

### Adequate Forum

Accordingly in such cases the court must initially determine whether there exists an alternative forum which is adequate. The ultimate enquiry is about the forum where the trial will best serve the convenience of the parties and the ends of justice. That is precisely what Judge Keenan did. The main onslaught of the American lawyers representing the private plaintiffs before Judge Keenan was on the Indian legal system relying strongly on the affidavit of Professor Marc Gallanter, who has impressive credentials. According to them the bar in India "does not presently possess the pool of skills, the fund of experience, or the organisational capacity effectively and efficiently to pursue massive and complex litigation". Moreover the Indian judicial system "does not possess the legal concepts, procedural machinery, or experience to process an environment mass tort disaster," and even if special rules are enacted under the Bhopal Act, "the Indian system would lack the accumulated wisdom and experience to protect due process rights". To cap the climax, "It is the efficiency of American procedures that creates the threat of an imminent damage judgement and moves a defendant to settle." Consequently, so the argument ran, the Indian legal system was so unsatisfactory that it did not provide any remedy at all and there was no alternative adequate legal forum in India.

Never has our legal system been more savagely mauled, more vilely maligned before a foreign court.

(To be concluded)



# Relevance Of Swiss Model

By M. R. MASANI

## Restoring Federal Set-Up

A PERCEPTIVE observer of the scene once asked me the other day why we in the Constituent Assembly, from Nehru downwards, were so inclined to adopt or adapt the Westminster pattern and why we did not turn to the constitution of the Swiss confederation which would have been much more appropriate in view of the linguistic, ethnic and religious diversities among our people. My answer was that many of us had been educated in Britain or had drawn our political ideas from that country. Since the Sarkaria Commission is now about to end its labours and must be working on its report, which it has promised to publish by the end of June, perhaps it would not be a waste of time to see what the Swiss constitution has to say on matters that should interest that commission.

There are four aspects in regard to which we in India can learn a great deal from the Swiss constitution. The first of these is the large measure of autonomy which is enjoyed by the Swiss cantons which correspond to our states.

Article 3 of the Swiss constitution states: "The cantons are sovereign insofar as their sovereignty is not limited by the federal constitution and, as such, exercise all rights which are not entrusted to the federal power."

Article 5 of the Swiss constitution states: "The confederation shall guarantee the cantons their territory, their sovereignty within the limits set forth in article 3, their constitutions, the freedom and the rights of the people, the constitutional rights of the citizens as well as the rights and prerogatives conferred upon the authorities by the people."

It is to be hoped that the Sarkaria Commission will recommend amendments to the constitution of our own Republic which will leave all residuary powers to the states and limit drastically the area of operation of the Union government and Parliament.

The second aspect which we can adapt from the Swiss constitution is the method of proportional representation in elections.

### Proportional method

The story of my own effort, as a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, to ensure that elections to Parliament and assemblies would be by proportional representation is told in my memoir *Against the Tide*:

"I remember the meeting, probably, in July 1947, where this matter came up in the Committee with Sardar Patel in the chair. M.K. Munishi moved that 'as a general principle, there should be reservation of seats for different recognised minorities in the various legislatures'. I moved an amendment, arguing that if a system of proportional representation was adopted, there would be no need whatsoever for reserving seats for the Harijans or any other minority. I got heart-warming support from Dr Ambedkar for the Harijans, as also from the spokesmen of the Anglo-Indian and Christian communities and members of the Muslim League. They were all prepared to surrender their reservations if this could be done.

Unfortunately, after a whispered

conversation between the chairman, Sardar Patel, and Dr K. M. Munshi, sitting next to him, the former expressed his regret at not being able to accept my proposal.

Sardar Patel argued that the acceptance of my proposal would lead to shifting coalitions and instability, as in France. What he wanted was a strong government backed by a decisive majority in Parliament and a two-party system as in England. This he thought the British electoral system would give.

I ventured to argue that the number of parties was not so much a result of the electoral system as of national temperament. We were not like the Anglo-Saxons, with their predilection for compromise. We were more like the Latins - the French, Italians and Latin-Americans - with their proclivity for splitting and splintering. Unfortunately, when the vote was taken, my amendment was lost while Munshi's proposal was carried by the Congress steamroller majority."

As a result India is plagued with the phenomenon of reservation of seats for Harijans and tribal people. This has resulted in Harijans being exploited by unscrupulous and corrupt leaders who have used them to get into the Union and state governments. It has also been the cause of a great deal of corruption in our national life.

### Minority Rule

The acceptance of proportional representation would have prevented this country being ruled by a minority party enjoying a large majority of seats in the Lok Sabha. Never since independence did the Congress Party, led by Nehru and his successors, get a majority of the popular votes polled.

The third aspect of this Swiss constitution which is unique is that, the federal council or cabinet of seven members is elected by the federal assembly every four years by proportional representation. This is a far-reaching provision because it means that the Swiss cabinet is a national government in the form of a permanent coalition of the major parties and of the cantons. The principle of 'one man, one vote', which is appropriate only in a homogeneous country like England but not in Switzerland, South Africa, Sri Lanka or India, is thus jettisoned in favour of a government which is drawn from the various political, ethnic, linguistic and territorial elements of the country. In a polyglot country like Sri Lanka or India it is not democratic for a brute ethnic or religious majority to rule over minorities. Democracy does not consist of majority rule but of majority rule with consideration for the minorities. Thus, Hindus ruling over Muslims or Sinhalese over Tamils is not democratic. Only the sharing of power between all elements in a fair measure can provide for a real democracy.

It may be argued that in India there are Muslim members of the government and in Sri Lanka there are Muslim and Tamil members of the government. This is true. But what the Swiss constitution provides is something more far-reaching. In India, the Muslim members and in Sri Lanka the Muslim and Tamil members of the

government are very easily included in the cabinet majority. In other words, the minority members of the government owe their position not to the people but to the 'majority'. Power is really to be shared among the different elements of the population, the minorities in Sri Lanka should have elected their representatives to the Union government through members of parliament who would be elected by proportional representation.

### Power Sharing

The fourth aspect of the constitution which is worthy of further attention is the sharing of power. Article 96 provides that there shall not be more than one cabinet minister in the cabinet for the same canton. Articles 82 and 98 provide that the president and vice-president of the confederation should not be from the same canton for two successive terms.

Applied to India, this means that the position of the President of India would not be a monopoly of Uttar Pradesh, the people of Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra and Gujarat would occasionally have a Minister from their midst. Similarly, the Union government would no longer be dominated by the 'Hindi belt' which is the most populous and the most backward of our nation.

These are somewhat radical changes, but nonetheless, the view that they are needed for a study of the Swiss constitution and its adaptation to our country based on the desire that the government should remain united and stable. We in the Constituent Assembly came to the conclusion that India was too big and too diverse a country to be ruled by a single form of government as in France. Unfortunately, the character of our Constitution has been badly eroded by the government during the last few years. A drastic correction is required to restore a structure which would enable the nation-state to stay together as one.

The nation-state is an end in itself or means to achieve it, and the pursuit of happiness of its citizens. It cannot have a higher priority than the nation itself. It is important that the end should be in harmony with the two clash, secessionist tendencies, as they gather strength, as they do in India today.

There is no need to justify 'unity and integrity' against a real decentralisation of power in a federal system. I am of the view that the happiness and progress of the people of India would be in their staying together as a political unit. But if the government comes oppressive and authoritarian to rule India by the federal system, it has been apt to show its authoritarian tendencies by demands which are irresistible and place a strain on the unity of India. The confederation shows that



# Towards A New Secularism

## Religion Cannot Be Ignored

By KARAN SINGH

THE classical concept of secularism which we adopted soon after freedom is subject to immense pressure and seems to be rapidly disintegrating. There are three main reasons for it. First, western concept of 'secularism' originated in Europe several centuries ago when the question of separation of the church and the state had become a major concern and a subject of fierce political controversy. India has never had an organised church, so the European concept of secularism was not really relevant to our requirements. The term *serva-dharma-samabhava*, which is sometimes used in place of secularism, is in fact a far more meaningful formulation, and certainly much closer to the views of the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who was deeply imbued with the Vedantic concept of the essential unity of all religions.

Secondly, our secularism was based upon the assumption, which has proved to be erroneous, that religion is a purely private affair with which the state is not concerned. This may be true as far as individual prayer and spiritual practices are concerned, but quite clearly the collective impact of religion upon society and the state is something which is far from personal. That millions of Indian citizens should flock regularly to the Kumbha Mela and numerous places of worship, whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, is itself an indication that the state has necessarily to take cognisance of religion as a social force. When we add the conflicts within and between religious groups, which create serious security and law and order problems, it becomes quite clear that the myth of religion being a purely personal matter can no longer be sustained. Indeed, that view is often put forward by a section of our intelligentsia who, for all practical purposes, are not believers and who, therefore, tend to look upon all religions as being equally irrelevant hangovers from the past. It is obvious that such a view is shared only by a minuscule percentage of India's vast population.

### Human Psyche

The third assumption upon which classical secularism is based revolves around the belief that as education increases, and living standards improve, religion will steadily lose its hold over the minds of people and become increasingly peripheral in its impact upon the human psyche. This assumption too has been repeatedly disproved in our own lifetimes. Not only in India, but in other developing countries it has become clear that there is little relation between economic progress and the decline of religion. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that with increasing affluence in hitherto poor nations the interest in religion shows a marked upsurge. One has only to travel in the more affluent parts of India to see the tremendous burgeoning of new temples and gurdwaras, mosques and churches, and a survey of rural India will show that a place of worship is one of the first demands of a new

affluent area. The upsurge of Islam in the oil-rich countries of West Asia proves the case convincingly.

If these three points are accepted, it is quite clear that we have to move on to an entirely new concept of secularism if it is to have relevance in the years and decades to come. In the Indian context, secularism cannot mean an anti-religious attitude of indifference towards religion on the part of the state. What it should mean is that while there is no state religion, all religions are given respect and freedom of activity, provided they do not impinge upon each other and, provided again, that foreign funds are not allowed to be channelled through ostensibly religious organisations for political purposes.

It is also essential that we overcome the religion-phobia in our educational system. At present we are getting the worst of both worlds. On the one hand, we refuse to take the positive attitude of presenting our rich, multi-religious heritage to our students, thus depriving them of contact with much that is noble and great in our civilisation. On the other, we leave religious education entirely in the hands of bodies which are seldom adequately equipped to undertake the task, and usually offer narrow and obscurantist interpretations of the living truths that permeate religious traditions. The new education policy talks only of "value education," understanding and expression of our religious heritage, it will be extremely difficult to develop a coherent and widely accepted value system.

### Value System

The multi-religious situation in India is a reality which will not go away. Instead of approaching the whole problem from a negative viewpoint, it would be far better to take the bull by the horns and convert what is sometimes looked upon as a major "problem" into a positive asset for the new India that is struggling to be born. This can only be done if our educational system gladly accepts the multiplicity of our religious tradition. I have before me an admirable textbook brought out in London last year entitled *Worlds Of Difference*, which presents a variety of cultural traditions in a simple, positive and appreciative manner. Sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund, and with a foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the book published by Blackie has separate chapters on the Chinese world, the Christian world, the Hindu world, the Humanist world, the Jewish world and the Muslim world. Attractively illustrated with photographs from the various religious traditions, it is accompanied by a guide which provides the teacher with an interpretative framework for the classroom. The book is designed mainly for the age-group 9-13, but much of the information can be used for older children.

I doubt if in our educational system, whether at the primary, secondary or higher levels, there is a single

book which presents the rich diversity of the Indian cultural tradition in this manner. Even at the post-graduate level there is hardly any significant work being done in the field of religious studies and comparative religion, which is so popular an area in the west, while the inter-religious dialogue is also virtually non-existent. All this is a reflection of the fact that among our "elite" religion seems to have become unfashionable. This is a sad commentary upon our intellectual capabilities. India is by far the richest area for multi-religious studies anywhere in the world, and should attract some of our best scholars. Hinduism itself, the religion of over four-fifths of Indians, is a vast treasure-house of philosophy and mythology, sociology and worldly wisdom. Yet in the last four decades more work on Hinduism has been done by foreign scholars than by our own. Evidently their "secularism" is not compromised by working on one of mankind's oldest religious traditions.

### Central Concept

If we are really serious in our efforts to build a strong and integrated India, it is incumbent upon us to ensure that the younger generations understand and appreciate not only their own religious traditions but also the other traditions in the country. How many Muslims in India are able even remotely to appreciate the depth of feeling among the Hindus regarding the sanctity of Lord Rama's birth-place? Conversely, how many Hindus understand the emotional trauma among Muslims when they see idols being worshipped in what they consider to be a mosque? I am not here commenting upon this deeply divisive issue, which is still *subjudice*, except to say that in Kashmir we do have places of worship which are common both to the Hindus and the Muslims, where *aarti* and *namaz* are done at the same time. But my point is that the gulf of incomprehension between the Hindus and the Muslims on this issue is fraught with grave danger for the nation, and is a reflection of our failure over the last forty years to tackle the religious issues adequately.

No nation can continue to grow if its central concepts become fossilised, and it loses the capacity for creative reinterpretation of its philosophical roots. The great secret of Indian civilisation, which has persisted down the long and tortuous corridors of time from the very dawn of civilisation, lies precisely in its capacity for such periodic reformulations. It is no longer good enough for us to try and hide behind an outmoded concept of secularism. What is needed is a deeper understanding of the importance of religion in the life of our people, and the formulation of a new and dynamic interpretation of secularism which would ensure the creative co-existence of our many religions, all making a positive contribution to the rich and varied mosaic that is India.



# A Rash Of Troubles Gradual Erosion Of The System

By A.S. ABRAHAM

EVEN as the country's most urgent problem, Punjab, remains unresolved, new strains on the system, or old ones suddenly resurgent, are making their appearance. They include the demand for "Gorkhland" by the Gorkha National Liberation Front; the revival of the Maharashtra-Karnataka boundary dispute, set off by the Karnataka government's decision to make Kannada compulsory in schools and in the administration; the dissatisfaction in Assam's Bengali-speaking Barak valley districts of Cachar and Karimganj over the Assam government's decision to make Assamese compulsory in non-Assamese secondary schools, with the All-Cachar Students' Association mobilising popular resentment; the separate demand for the demarcation of Assam's backward twin hill districts of North Cachar and Karimganj as an "autonomous state"; the movement, led by the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha for a "Jharkhand" state carved out of Bihar; the intensification of communal sentiment among both Hindus and Muslims, with the controversy over the Ram Janambhoomi temple-Babri mosque rumbling in the background; the continuing political crisis in Jammu and Kashmir where communal and anti-national forces were able to make much headway under the Congress-backed G.M. Shah ministry; and, finally, the latest variant on the theme of Punjab turbulence in the shape of the migration of Hindu families from Punjab for fear of falling victim to terrorist bullets. The list is illustrative, not exhaustive.

## Punjab Issue

One crucial difference between past crises and the present situation is that no issue has gone on for so long as Punjab—and with no solution yet in sight. The convulsions over the linguistic reorganisation of states, although not quite played out even now (in a sense, the Punjab problem stems from the decision in the mid-fifties to have linguistic states), have by and large given way to relatively small-scale eruptions. The troubles over language, including the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu in the mid-sixties, peaked between the mid-fifties and mid-sixties. The Naxalite insurrection in the late sixties and early seventies was bloodily contained, although its social and economic roots in the exploitation of the most vulnerable groups in the rural and tribal areas remain as strong as ever. The 1975-77 emergency was at once

further than ever before, as the fallout on the popularly elected Barnala government of the second entry into the Golden Temple is showing.

After ordering the security forces into the temple, Mr Barnala has had to "atone" for it, ostensibly as an individual, but even that has not assuaged his opportunistic Akali critics who are baying louder than ever for his blood and who are being forced into a dangerous *de facto* alignment with the secessionists. Nor have they been at pains to distinguish their position from that of the Khalistanis. Indeed, in Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra's case, it has always been in doubt where he draws the line between opposing any attempt at accommodation and endorsing secessionism, or even whether he wants to draw one.

Mr Barnala's dilemma also presents the Centre with one. To act as the chief minister of Punjab, he cannot countenance secessionism. Yet, trying to squash it gives his rivals a stick to beat him with. For the Centre, Mr Barnala must be supported since he is in office by popular consent. Yet, the more vulnerable he becomes to attack even from those who claim to be opposed to secessionism, let alone from the secessionists themselves, the more difficult and politically costly it becomes to back him.

The message the country is getting from the way in which the Punjab issue is being handled is that the government is prepared to go as far as compromising on one of the fundamental principles on which the order it is committed to creating rests if that will make it easier to strengthen Mr Barnala and so help sort out the tangle. Mr Barnala's "atonement" for his "crime" has been defended as an ingenious means of reconciling two contradictory aims. As an individual, he accepts his guilt and pays the penalty; thereby, injured Sikh sentiment is soothed. At the same time, as chief minister, he secures his position by rendering harmless his detractors' objection to his decision to send the security forces into the temple. What he is actually doing is indulging in the dangerous self-deception that he can divide responsibility for his decision between his private and public personae. What that amounts to is a negation of secularism, an acknowledgement that the authority he is accountable to is not the secular state which he is constitutionally committed to uphold, but a religious body independent of it.

changed to the shabby was in line with what the Muslims wanted. It is decide which stance government in a poorer

What is disturbing is much the tensions in various parts of the context in which they Mr Rajiv Gandhi may that by digging his heels Muslim Divorced even as he moved to squ manifestations of dissim ty, he was creating an decisiveness. Ironically of that piece of legisla which he threw the government's full generated a feeling of permissiveness.

If the government, led man with his gaze suppo on the 21st century, serious a blow at sec moreover, a popularly minister can use the rep powers legitimately ves for a particular 'non-pa pose and then, immed apologise for doing so fessional authority to not even remotely answ surely anything goes. If and doublethink are at why should everyone to make and an agitati not resort to both?

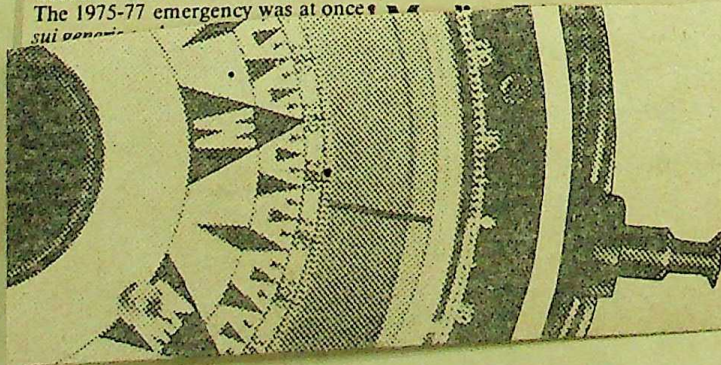
## Permissive Ethos

Because such a permiss is being fostered, new des that for Gorkhland or or whatever will be pres fanatical adurance that previously have atten Even those in authority their own constituencies are feeling encouraged tough. So it is that the Ja ment in Karnataka and Gana Parishad set-up in both succumbing to pressures by making the the state compulsory for including sizeable min speak other tongues chauvinism has been rampant in Karnataka time and one would ha an otherwise level-hea like Mr Ramakrishna combat it, or at least not at the risk of provoking such are the times that Hegdes of the country brazen populism.

As for the AGP, at manually divisive elec brought it to office.

## Sources Of Terrorism Links Not Easy To Establish

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN



T H  
other  
long  
marks  
Wha  
these  
they  
tacke  
ings  
this  
griev  
anoth  
tions  
need  
main  
recent  
and E  
Amer  
exper  
the te  
States  
facing  
In t  
sourc  
vario  
group  
appea  
that u  
tions  
than  
That  
for wh  
"pep  
opera  
prefer  
The  
tions,  
or Ira  
behin  
on An  
dislik  
ationa  
pers  
tions  
secret  
inform  
outsid  
iliar v  
"I t  
Libya  
joint  
tellige  
don't  
the ot  
No o  
hasn'  
to rel  
The  
and  
pressi  
by me  
darity  
Key  
The  
nation  
not t  
group  
ganis  
recru  
wester  
rorist  
group  
Reve  
"Islar  
group  
cut h  
bersh  
some  
found  
The  
differ  
They  
ing n  
often  
the i  
tellige  
group  
but c  
diplom  
Beh  
pear  
meth



les  
ystem

the shabby  
with what the  
anted. It is  
ch stance  
in a poorer  
disturbing  
tensions  
s of the con  
which they  
andhi may  
ing his head  
forced Wom  
moved to squ  
ons of diss  
reating an im  
Ironically, th  
e of legisla  
threw this  
s full of  
a feeling of  
ess.  
ernment, let  
gaze suppo  
st century, co  
low at seco  
popularly  
n use the re  
imately ves  
ular non-pa  
men, immedi  
or doing so  
authority to  
motely answ  
ing goes. If  
think are at  
everyone wi  
d an agitatio  
both?

usive Ed  
such a pen  
ered, new  
rkhaland  
will be pre  
amance that  
have att  
in authority  
constituencies  
encourages  
is that the  
arnataka  
had set-up  
mbing to p  
making the  
ompulsory  
izeable min  
er tongues  
has been  
n Karnataka  
ne would ha  
ise level-ha  
amakrishna  
or at least  
of provoking  
the times  
the country  
ulism.  
ne AGP, al  
divisive elec  
to office.

# Sources Of Terrorism Links Not Easy To Establish

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

THE recent spate of bombings against American and other victims has left in its wake a long trail of casualties and question marks.

What groups or states are behind these terrorist bombings? How are they connected? How are the attackers recruited? How are the killings or bombings organized? And is this terrorism motivated by political grievances, or has it simply become another tool of international relations for some states? The evidence needed for conclusive answers remains sketchy. But interviews in recent months with Arab, American and European diplomats, as well as American, Arab and Israeli security experts, provide some clues about the terrorist forces that the United States and many of its allies are facing.

In the view of many of these sources, the actual links between various radical Arab and Iranian groups and state intelligence groups appear to be very loose. The bonds that unite these extremist organizations tend to be more ideological than operational, the sources say. That is, groups occasionally gather for what the experts describe as joint "pep rallies," but when it comes to operations in the field they usually prefer to act separately.

The state intelligence organizations, such as those of Libya, Syria or Iran — which are believed to be behind many of the recent attacks on American and Israeli targets — dislike cooperating on an operational level, many terrorism experts believe. "Intelligence organizations are by nature competitive, secretive and afraid of leakage of information or penetration from the outside," said an Israeli official familiar with the subject.

"I think it is very unlikely that Libyan intelligence would ever do a joint operation with Syrian intelligence," he said. "Things just don't work that way. No one wants the other guy to know what he has. No one can be sure the other guy hasn't been penetrated. They prefer to rely on themselves."

The radical Arab and Iranian states and organizations give the impression of being linked, however, by meeting to show ideological solidarity.

## Key Connections

The key connections in international terrorism, experts say, are not those between different radical groups but rather between the organizations and the individuals they recruit to carry out attacks. Many westerners seem to believe that terrorist acts are carried out by small groups with names such as "Arab Revolutionary Brigades" or "Islamic Jihad," and that these groups are tightly bound with clear-cut hierarchies of command, membership rosters and headquarters somewhere — if they could only be found.

The reality appears to be quite different, according to the experts. They say the names of groups claiming responsibility for terrorist acts often represent nothing more than the imagination of the state intelligence organizations or guerrilla groups that have staged the attack but cannot claim responsibility for diplomatic or security reasons.

Behind the false names, there appear to be at least four basic methods being used to organize at-

tacks. Heilige and KS Mobile Unit Sabri el-Banna, alias Abu Nidal. While he has become known for terrorist actions against westerners, he earned his reputation in the 1970s by killing Arab and Palestinian officials on behalf of one Arab government or another. In the beginning, Arab diplomats say, he worked for Iraq, killing Syrians and Palestinian supporters of Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

About 1980, however, after Iraq started fighting Iran and moved closer to the conservative Arab oil nations, Abu Nidal began to work for Syria, Palestinian sources say. Under Syrian sponsorship, he is believed to have carried out attacks on Jordanian diplomats and airline offices, as well as the slaying of moderate Palestinian officials, such as Issam Sartawi, who was shot in Lisbon in 1983. After Syria and Jordan began to improve ties, Abu Nidal apparently shifted most of his headquarters to Libya, from which he now operates.

Reagan administration officials have accused the government of Colonel Moamer Gaddafi of helping to support and train the Abu Nidal group in Libya. In addition, the Libyans have had close ties with other radical groups and are believed to have asked for their support in terrorist attacks against American targets in Europe.

## Specific Acts

Although little is known about the activities of Abu Nidal, it appears that the group is hired by the Libyans, Syrians or Iraqis to carry out specific acts, according to the terrorism experts. Clues to his operations can be derived from testimony given at the trial in London of three Abu Nidal followers, who tried to kill the Israeli ambassador to Britain, Shlomo Argov, in June 1982.

Two of them, Marwan al-Banna and Ghassan Said, were in their early 20s and had been trained in Iraq for little more than a month, learning basic weapons handling, clandestine communications and surveillance. They were sent to London in late 1979 and early 1980 as "sleeper agents." They posed as students studying English and spent their time gathering intelligence about Jewish, American and Israeli organisations. They were activated only in May 1982, when a third agent, Rusan Nayef, obtained weapons from the Iraqi embassy in London and was told by a fourth unidentified agent, possibly from Iraq, to prepare for an attack on either Israel's embassy or ambassador, according to trial testimony. Only on the morning of June 3, the day of the attack, did they receive instructions over the phone from the fourth man as to where and how to shoot Mr Argov.

Abu Nidal is known among Palestinians for recruiting students. According to Israeli and Arab sources, he is highly selective, preferring people with family or home-town connections to someone already in his organisation so as to prevent penetration by agents.

A second mode of operation was used in the bombing of the American embassy in Beirut on April 18, 1983. In that case, according to the Lebanese police, a collection of almost 20 Palestinians and Lebanese were paid by one or two "cutouts"

are persons whose identities were unknown to those recruited but who were presumed to have been working for either Syria or a Palestinian intelligence organisation. Each person was paid to do only one small task — surveillance or transporting explosives, delivering messages or arranging for a car — and few appear to have known one another or the ultimate target.

The third mode of operations seemed to be exemplified by the simultaneous attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports in December, which were attributed by Arab sources to Abu Nidal on contract from Libya. Under this method, a small squad of Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon are recruited, given some very quick basic training and then sent to Europe for a single mission.

## Ship's Attack

The fourth mode of attack was exemplified by the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro in October. This is when a Palestinian guerrilla group, in this case the Palestine Liberation Front, uses primarily its own means and personnel to carry out a terrorist operation on relatively short notice. But this once popular method has receded since the PLO lost its independent base of operation in Beirut in the summer of 1982.

The Arab, Israeli and western sources say that these techniques, except in the last case, are striking because they are so difficult to trace and leave no easy "return address" to retaliate against. They often involve people who are not connected beforehand, who barely know for whom they are working and who scatter when the operation is over.

The ultimate timing and targets are usually determined not by the assailants, the experts say, but by the state intelligence organisations that direct them through their local embassies or safe houses. This makes sorting out the motivations and root causes of terrorism that much more complex.

To be sure, some terrorist actions have social roots in the political grievances of certain populations — terrorism by Palestinian organisations, for example. At the same time, however, experience also suggests that any progress in Arab-Israeli negotiations will be accompanied by more terrorism, since a significant portion of terrorism today is being carried out by Palestinians or Arab governments opposed to any peaceful settlement with Israel.

It has become equally clear, the experts say, that many terrorist actions are also staged as a form of inexpensive warfare. It has become a kind of diplomacy by other means, they say — as cheap an instrument of international relations as the diplomatic pouch — and exploits the political grievances of certain groups for the narrow interests of particular states.

In other words, the root causes of a significant portion of today's terrorism seem to lie not in any grievance that can be addressed, but in the intrigues, power struggles, jealousies and machinations that are part of the web of international relations. (By arrangement with New York Times Service).



# A Changed Man

Terrorism was once anathema to Badal. Not the faintest thought of separatism could have touched him in those days. And now here he is, canonizing Bhindranwale, trying to emerge as the supreme leader of the extremists.

## In Focus

UNTIL not very long ago nobody would have associated Parkash Singh Badal with any form of extremism. Religious fanaticism was considered quite alien to him. Everybody who knew him said he was the least communal of the Akali leaders, a breed apart. Moderate, pacific, liberal were the adjectives used to describe him. Badal was an affluent, sport-loving gentleman-farmer who had strayed into politics almost by chance. The story is told how young Badal had almost accepted the post of a tehsildar when the stalwart Sikh leader, Giani Kartar Singh, had intervened and snubbed the family for pushing him into a lacklustre government post. The shrewd politician had seen great potential in the young man and taken him under his wing.

Badal had done well for himself in politics and became the chief minister of Punjab, the first time in 1970, at a considerably early age. His friends still remember him as a shy, black-bearded young man—"a respectable kakaji of the landlord community".

He had received a liberal education in a Christian college in Lahore, had married into a landlord family, loved duck-shooting and badminton. He had hardly anything in common with the militant, fire-breathing leaders of the Akali Party like Gurcharan Singh Tohra or Jagdeo Singh Talwandi. Instead they were poles apart, with nothing but mutual contempt for one another. Nobody would have thought that some day Parkash Singh Badal would be on the same side of the fence as Tohra, even less that he would accept Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale as his saint.

Time was when they could hardly stand the sight of each other—Badal and Bhindranwale. They couldn't share the same platform without sparks flying. One remembers the tension that gripped Manji Sahib Hall, when Badal, who was then the leader of the Akali Legislature Party, stepped on to the stage where Bhindranwale happened to be sitting. The fiery sant at once got up and withdrew, followed by his gun-toting bodyguards. So fierce was the enmity between them that Badal never felt secure entering the Golden Temple, particularly the Guru Nanak Niwas where Bhindranwale lived before moving to the Akal Takht.

Those were the days when terrorism was anathema to Badal. Not the faintest thought of separatism could have touched him then. How uncomfortable he had looked that afternoon in New Delhi when he led a bunch of Akali agitators in consigning a

part of the Indian Constitution to the flames. You could see his heart was not in the act, and he admitted as much when he said he had done it only as a "humble servant" — on instructions from above.

And here is Badal now, canonizing Bhindranwale, thirsting for "revenge" against the Centre for "all the excesses committed on our Sikh brethren". Tohra's new comrade-in-arms, trying to emerge as the supreme leader of the extremists.

How had the transformation come about? It must have started during his 10-month im-

become quite obvious that they would eventually chart a different course for themselves. Even more so after Barnala became the chief minister, with the blessings of New Delhi.

Badal, who had been the chief minister twice and had set his heart on wresting the gaddi again just couldn't see himself playing second fiddle to Surjit Singh Barnala. What was more, he thought he had a better feel of the Sikh psyche, which was averse to an Akali government playing a surrogate role to the Centre. To them, the Akali vic-



sonment following Operation Bluestar. It had left him a bitter man and it showed soon after he came out of jail. There was a new belligerence in his tone, a new militancy that nobody had thought Badal was capable of. It was partly a bitterness that had been caused by the process of quiet negotiations between the emissaries of the Central government and the jailed Akali leaders. Parkash Singh Badal had been ignored and the sense of alienation had grown on him as the negotiations progressed. It is quite possible that the Punjab scene would have been different if Arjun Singh had not chosen to pick on leaders who were "more pliable" than Badal—more amenable to take the Centre's diktat.

Arjun Singh's strategy was quite in line with the old game of New Delhi to drive wedges in the Akali camp and thereby gain leverage for itself. The strategy pushed Badal into taking an increasingly militant posture. The metamorphosis was complete by the time the Punjab Accord was signed. Badal and Tohra were in a defiant mood, quite unwilling to have anything to do with the agreement. They described it as a "sell-out" to New Delhi, and though they did finally agree to participate in the elections, it had

tory was another step toward "freedom" or not worth it.

And so the break at Anandpur Sahib where Badal staked claim for the chief ministers of Punjab by claiming to be head of the legitimate Akali I. All the fire and brimstone against New Delhi and the Barnala government might just have been convenient posturing, what he said in essence was that all was well with Punjab if the state of power were handed over to him. If not, he and his acquired friends like Tohra were only too ready to mess up already queered Punjab pits.

Badal is now going around state suggesting a formula for peace with the Centre: to the Dandami Takal and AISSF boys, we will help bring them to the negotiating table on the condition that give us power. Badal is ready to "forgive" Barnala all his "misdeeds" if only he voluntarily step down from chief ministership.

So for all the "heino" Barnala is being charged seems to have committed one; to have become minister of Punjab "rightful heir", Badal, around.

in the nature of  
ism — regardless  
whether it is consti-  
tutionally known as a  
"common-  
"a more perfect  
— simply as a "fed-  
— that differences  
— disputes occasionally  
— when in deference  
— secular forces and  
— factors the intensity  
— strative action at  
— levels of govern-  
— tably grows, the  
— range and fre-  
— discords between  
— and the regional  
— its too increase.  
— relationship be-  
— a constituent unit  
— of the federal  
— may come under  
— stresses and

Constitution of  
the term  
does not "Federation"  
— from this  
— a written consti-  
— brings into  
— two levels of govern-  
— out separate  
— functional and  
— or both, disallows  
— changes in the basic  
— arrangements  
— an amendment  
— sets up an inde-  
— vicary to pro-  
— among others, on  
— mental disputes, a  
— does get born, al-  
— particular federal  
— may contain  
— centralized features  
— per, one may be  
— decentralized traits.  
— important to remem-  
— the two levels of  
— no generate and  
— occasions of dis-  
— disagreements.

of the almost inevit-  
— such disagreements  
— tion, however de-  
— be the demarcation  
— between the two  
— government, a need  
— machinery to dis-  
— solve them is felt  
— erations, and if the  
— does not provide  
— political system, of  
— has come forward  
— gap and bring into  
— erian administra-  
— vances. The U.S.  
— honoured as the  
— al one in mod-  
— does not specific-  
— an institution to  
— eral-state ques-  
— there are many  
— may soft out  
— the more  
— ing the Council  
— Governments, the  
— Conference, the  
— mental Relations  
— etc.

Indian constitution  
— led one and func-  
— been neatly en-  
— Central, State and  
— lists should not  
— to believing that  
— no problems in the  
— State-State relations.  
— tary, the occasions  
— are no less numer-  
— it is remembered  
— Indian Union com-  
— many as 22 States  
— at varying stages of  
— and political develop-  
— which have their own  
— of looking at the  
— of State-making,  
— and develop-  
— there is no viable  
— of a standing  
— which could be seized  
— between the Centre  
— more States as well  
— the States them-

there is the



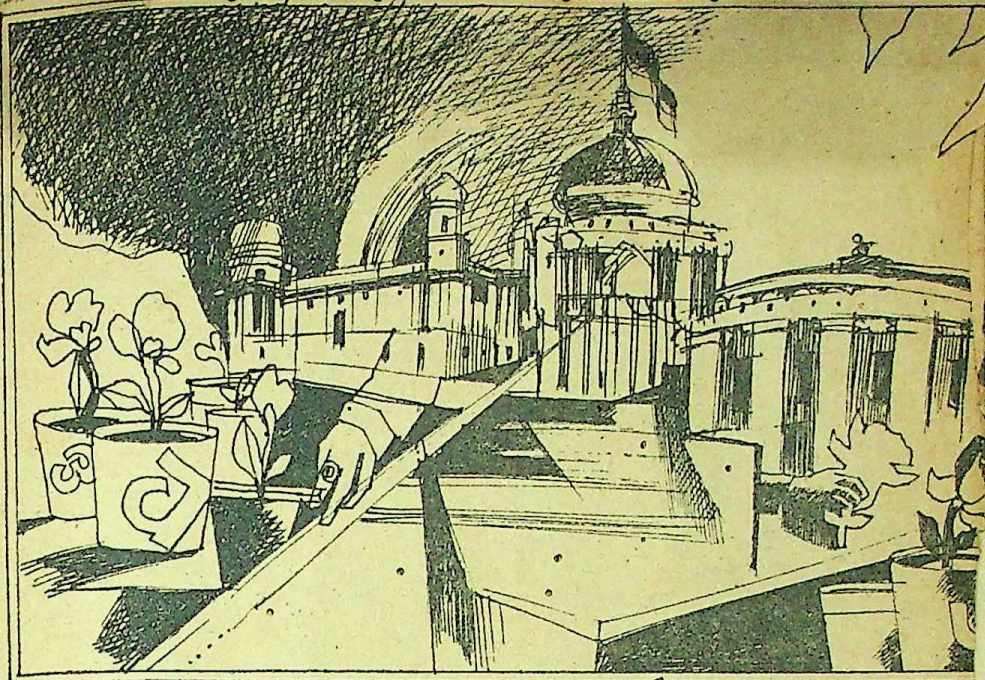
in the nature of  
ism—regardless  
whether it is consti-  
tutionally known as a  
“common-  
“a more perfect  
on” simply as “fed-  
erally differences  
that occasionally  
putes in deference  
when in deference  
secular forces and  
actors the intensity  
strative action at  
levels of govern-  
ment grows, the  
range and fre-  
quency of discor-  
dances between  
the central and the regional  
authorities too increase.  
The relationship be-  
tween the constituent unit  
of the federal  
system may come under  
stresses and

Constitution of  
the term  
“Federation”  
is not from this  
written consti-  
tution. It brings  
into levels of govern-  
ment out separate  
functional and  
disallowing both.  
Changes in the basic  
arrangements  
through an amendment  
set up an inde-  
pendent on  
others. On  
disputes, a  
does get born. Al-  
though particular federal  
may contain  
centralized features  
but one may be  
decentralized traits.  
Important to remem-  
ber the two levels of  
government no generate  
occasions of dis-  
agreements.

of the almost inevit-  
able such disagreements  
between the two  
governments, a need  
for machinery to dis-  
solve them is felt  
and, if the  
does not provide  
political system, of  
has come forward  
gap and bring into  
certain administra-  
tive functions. The U.S.  
honoured as the  
one in mod-  
ern times does not specif-  
ically an institution to  
deal with state ques-  
tions. There are many  
ways to sort out  
the more  
being the Council  
of Ministers, the  
Conference, the  
Ministerial Relations  
Committee, etc.

Indian constitution  
has provided one and func-  
tioning have been neatly en-  
gaged. Central, State and  
Local Self-Government  
lists should not  
be believing that  
no problems in the  
Centre-State relations.  
The occasions  
are no less numer-  
ous. It is remembered  
that many as 22 States  
at varying stages of  
political develop-  
ment have their own  
of State-making.  
and develop-  
ment there is no viable  
of a standing  
which could be seized  
between the Centre  
and the States them-  
selves. There is the

“heino-  
charged  
commit-  
come  
jab  
Badal,  
the  
ment were giving



# Centre-State Relations

Supreme Court which is em-  
powered to examine the  
Centre-State and inter-State  
disputes, but not all the prob-  
lems faced in the field of  
Centre-State relations can be  
referred to the judiciary with  
its rigid procedures of work-  
ing. One must not miss the  
fact that Federal problems are,  
in the ultimate analysis, polit-  
ical problems, and for resolv-  
ing them political solutions  
should be sought.

Also, there are in operation  
some mechanisms which may  
discuss such matters. One eas-  
ily recalls the forums like the  
National Development Council,  
the Chief Ministers' Confer-  
ence, the Central Council of  
Health, the Central Council of  
Local Self-Government and  
other functional conferences of  
Ministers which get convened  
by the Central Ministers cor-  
responding to those functions.  
An analysis of their function-  
ing, however, seems to sug-  
gest the general ineffectiveness  
of all of them. Which should  
not be surprising.

In the first place, the exist-  
ing bodies, including even the  
National Development Council  
and the Chief Ministers' Con-  
ference, partake of the nature  
of ad hoc ones, convened at  
the will and convenience of  
the Central Government.  
Secondly, they lack even a  
statutory base where as a  
body ideally suited for such  
purposes must as a rule be  
embedded in the constitution  
so that it comes to command  
universal respect and attention.  
Thirdly, the existing forums  
suffer from a conspicuous lack  
of interest on the part of the  
States, which tend to regard  
them as Centre's contrivances

to make them fall in line with  
New Delhi's pre-determined  
policies, programmes, and  
wishes.

The very creation of such  
numerous forums does indicate  
that the country's political sys-  
tem was experiencing problems  
in the field of Centre-State  
relationship, but they were as  
a rule taken on the Centre-  
determined paths. One must

broken with the general elec-  
tion held in 1966 which ush-  
ered into power non-Congress  
Governments in many States.  
From then onwards the Centre-  
State relationship acquired  
a new dimension, in the sense  
that it ceased to be the house  
affair of the Congress Party,  
and, furthermore, as different  
political parties came into  
power in the States, federal-

Disputes between the Centre and the States  
are inevitable, when a Constitution formally  
brings into existence two levels of govern-  
ment and chalks out separate jurisdictions  
for them. So are disputes between States  
and States, particularly neighbour States. Who  
is to settle them? S. R. MAHESHWARI ex-  
amines the existing machinery and argues  
the case for the formation of an Inter-State  
Council to decide all such disputes.

also not overlook the fact of  
the single party dominance in  
the country, the Congress  
Party being in office both at  
the Centre and in all the  
States (except for very brief  
periods in now-defunct PEPSU,  
Orissa and Kerala). In this  
larger context, the Centre's  
relationship with the States  
tended to acquire the spirit  
and style of intra-party func-  
tioning, and when differences  
arose or problems felt, they as  
a rule used to be tackled along  
the party network thereby out-  
flanking the Constitution.

The serenity was abruptly

ism in India became deeply  
enmeshed in politics of a  
rather narrow perspective.

It was within this larger  
politically polemical climate  
that the Administrative Re-  
forms Commission found itself  
working. In its Report on  
Centre-State Relationship sub-  
mitted in 1969, the Commission  
recommended the setting up of  
an Inter-State Council in India.  
Since then, a national dialogue  
on this problem has been inter-  
mittently going on at various  
levels and styles.

But the proposal for a body  
of this kind is nearly as old as

ne the case  
time: and we consider to  
develop a system of inter-pro-  
vincial conferences, at which

or the Union and one or  
(Continued on page III Col.1)



(Continued from page 1 col 6)

more of the States, have a common interest; or  
(c) Making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action with respect to that subject, it shall be lawful for the President by order to establish such a Council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organization and procedure.

It may be recalled that this article is the old Section 135 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which has been almost bodily carried over in the present Constitution. The Constitution is silent about the composition of such a Council. As this article has been invoked on two occasions when the Central Council of Health and the Central Council of Local Self-Government were announced in 1952 and 1954 respectively it may be safe to infer that a Council under Article 263 consist of Ministers at the Centre and in the States and, furthermore, will be functional in nature. The proposed Inter-State Council is to be seen in its historical perspective, and as examined in the preceding paragraph, it is to operate as a body seeking co-ordination of policies in subjects falling within the jurisdiction of the States. It, be it noted, is not intended by those who first visualized it to resolve differences between the Centre and the States.

The Administrative Reforms Commission's Study Team on Centre-State Relationships (whose chairman was Mr. M. C. Setalvad) recommended, in 1968, the setting up of the Inter-State Council and even laid down its composition as well as detailed functions. As viewed by the Study Team, the Inter-State Council is to deal with all issues of national importance in which the States are interested. As there presently exist many functional "conferences" or councils dealing with specific categories of problems (such as the Chief Minister's Conference, Finance Minister's Conference, Food Minister's Conference, etc.) all these would become redundant and are, therefore, to be wound up when the Inter-State Council is formed. The Study Team set its heart on a single, standing Council which is empowered to discuss any issue of national importance.

"The advantage of a single body is that every problem can be viewed by it in the perspective of the whole. This integrated look, necessary in fashioning basic policies of national importance, is missing in the dispersed system operative at present."

The proposed all-purpose Inter-State Council should consist of the Prime Minister, Central Ministers for Home, Finance, Labour, Food and other subjects in the State and Concurrent lists of the Constitution, Chief Ministers or their nominees and any others invited by the chairman or coopted by the Council. The Council should be equipped with an appropriate secretariat which is to prepare and circulate among members the necessary papers and notes on items coming up for discussion in its meetings and also take follow-up action on matters decided by it. It should meet at regular intervals. But its conclusions are to be advisory only.

Moreover, it should not involve itself in the discussion of Inter-State disputes; "saddling the proposed Council with functions in the area of disputes would prevent it from giving full attention to the various problems of national concern which it ought primarily to consider."

Nor must it be given a hand in Constitutional appointments made by the President such as those of the Governors, the Chief Justice of India, the Chief Election Commissioner, the Auditor-General of India, etc., any other course would have the effect of diluting the Cabinet's responsibility to Parliament and promoting a concept of disintegrated executive, both cutting at the very root of the parliamentary system of Government.

The third design of the Inter-State Council is that sketched by the Administrative Reforms Commission (1966-70) itself in its Report on Centre-State Relationships (1969). The Commission was in complete agreement with its Study Team on the need for such a body, but differed with it on almost all other aspects. The Study Team had held that once this body was set up other forums, like the National Development Council, were to be wound up. According to the ARC, all such bodies could continue to function. It conceived a different kind of composition of the Council. It is to consist of the Prime Minister, Central Ministers of Home and Finance, the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament and five zonal Council representatives, one from each. Such other Central Ministers and State Chief Ministers as are concerned with a particular

which is likely to affect the interests of one or more States" and its views on drafts of these legislative measures, should, as a rule, be placed before the Parliament at the time of introduction of the Bills. The recommendations of the Inter-State Council should be "ordinarily binding" on both the Centre and the States. This Council is to consist of the Prime Minister who is to be its chairman and Chief Ministers of States or their nominees; "no other Minister of the Union Cabinet should be a member of the Council".

These, thus, are the four models or prototypes of the proposed Inter-Council. A closer scrutiny would, however disclose that the proposals of the ARC Study Team, the Administrative Reform Commission and the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee are basically, in the nature of elaborations and interpretations of the skeletal provisions of Article 263 of the Constitution. The genesis of Article 263 lay in a desire for cooperation and coordination in regard to subjects falling within the jurisdiction of the States. The Study Team visualized a very large-sized Council with apparently multi-purpose functions but precluded from discussing inter-State disputes as well as Constitutional appointments made by the President. The Study Team's proposal has an effect of making this body look like the Central Cabinet itself to which Chief Ministers of States too have been invited. While one should not be unduly rigid about the size, its membership

## CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

subject under discussion should also be invited to its meetings.

A small size was preferred in order to make the Council business-like. The proposed Council should have broad terms of reference and should be free to discuss and resolve both the inter-State and the Centre-State differences. While its proceedings are to be treated as secret, its decisions are advisory though these "must be able to carry weight with the Centre and the State Governments".

The fourth blueprint of an Inter-State Council is presented by the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee which the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu had set up in 1969. Tamil Nadu, it may be recalled, has been the only State in the Indian Union which has been consistent and loud in its demand for a larger measure of autonomy for the constituent units and corresponding changes in the constitution itself. The Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee, headed by P. V. Rajamannar, recommended the "immediate" constitution of the Inter-State Council to be consulted on all matters of "national importance" or which are to affect "one or more States. It should also be empowered to discuss every Bill of national importance or

should not be determined functionally. Besides, the terms of reference of the Council would look incomplete if it is not to discuss disputes, however distasteful these may sound. The functions of such a body ought not to be formulated unrealistically; any such attempt is likely to lead to demands for the setting up of additional forums to take up hitherto uncovered matters.

Coming to the ARC proposal, it seems to deny even the very existence of the States by substituting their Chief Ministers by the five zonal council spokesmen. The Chief Ministership is an institution enshrined in the Constitution itself and to keep it out from the Inter-State Council is to cripple the latter at the very start. Besides, a Zonal Council nominee cannot be truly deemed to represent the States within the zone; he himself may be an interested party to the disputes coming before it. Tamil Nadu's Central-State Inquiry Committee has blown Article 263 up a bit bigger and recommends a Council which apparently is no less than a super Cabinet of the Indian Union whose decisions would "ordinarily be binding on both the Centre and the States.

This has...  
it an...  
count...  
and is...  
the fund...  
liamentar...  
decisions...  
Council...  
least fea...

No one...  
the need...  
nery to ex...  
which may...  
Centre and...  
as well as...  
and another...  
should be...  
normal turn...  
not give...  
being hurt...  
under thro...  
other wor...  
not wait...  
to agitate...  
sures in f...  
to encount...  
ment at its...  
out at a...  
are alrea...  
have becom...  
Centre's bo...  
polls, givi...  
loned.

ADAN THAKUR

ould hardly help a...  
of deja vu. The...  
lection results had...  
way one had...  
only more so. It...  
more decisive...  
one had reckoned...  
written a fortnight...  
polls, giving the race...  
sion, saying that this...  
conclusion, there...  
of snorts and snig...  
several quarters, inclu...  
of the pundits of the

This meet...  
most oppo...  
constitution...  
Council. It...  
the Prime...  
Chief Minis...  
Prime Minis...  
Chairman...  
should also...  
consider...  
the solid...  
they would get...  
ing the Alalis; consi...  
the names of the Mazhabi...  
the Congress — and...  
in touch with...  
man during...  
period, and...  
do to the Alalis.

be reckoned without...  
one said, the "host"...  
Congress-I. Wait until...  
controlling into the...  
should also...  
consider...  
the solid...  
they would get...  
ing the Alalis; consi...  
the names of the Mazhabi...  
the Congress — and...  
in touch with...  
man during...  
period, and...  
do to the Alalis.

be completed...  
with him. The...  
be regular...  
from the wise pun...  
ings, prefer...  
Gallup poll to bols...  
start of eve...  
session. It...  
by its own...  
petent...  
notes and...  
was in Majha or in...  
coming up...  
in the Doaba, the...  
The Inter-S...  
of a secret pact...  
not but have...  
the Congress and...  
the under our...  
me, as unfaili...  
ance but a...  
bandi spectre during...  
days of the emergency...  
commendation...  
being that while...  
prerequisites...  
case of forced nas...  
are the States...  
always elusive...  
that was "in the next...  
poll pact rumours...  
confidence in...  
more convinci...  
ation" and...  
slides.

1. Report...  
tee...  
national...  
(Part)...  
834, p...  
looking for "weak...  
for the elections...  
even given the editor...  
the analogy of West...  
they had "put the...  
power to finish the...  
They had conveni...  
that it was more...  
of the government of Sid...  
Shankar Ray than the...  
ment which had car...  
the planned extermina...  
the Naxalites. Be that as...  
Andra and many...  
no doubt that New...  
State...  
to the Alalis on a plat...  
appeasement is cross...  
said the editor...  
Congress is committing...  
take my word for it."

6. This...  
many a Congressman...  
that this was all a canard...  
diligently by the...  
Janata Party and its...  
the belief certainly...  
beyond them. In...  
there was the hardy...  
giving me several facts...  
that a tacit understand...  
existed. "Some peo...  
secretariat...  
of the...  
government were giving

2. Admini...  
Commis...  
the St...  
tre-S...  
Vol. I...  
Public...  
of the...  
govern...  
Shankar Ray than the...  
ment which had car...  
the planned extermina...  
the Naxalites. Be that as...  
Andra and many...  
no doubt that New...  
State...  
to the Alalis on a plat...  
appeasement is cross...  
said the editor...  
Congress is committing...  
take my word for it."

3. Ibid...  
4. Admini...  
Commis...  
the St...  
tre-S...  
Vol. I...  
Public...  
of the...  
govern...  
Shankar Ray than the...  
ment which had car...  
the planned extermina...  
the Naxalites. Be that as...  
Andra and many...  
no doubt that New...  
State...  
to the Alalis on a plat...  
appeasement is cross...  
said the editor...  
Congress is committing...  
take my word for it."

5. Ibid...  
6. This...  
many a Congressman...  
that this was all a canard...  
diligently by the...  
Janata Party and its...  
the belief certainly...  
beyond them. In...  
there was the hardy...  
giving me several facts...  
that a tacit understand...  
existed. "Some peo...  
secretariat...  
of the...  
government were giving

7. Ibid...  
8. Ibid...  
9. Ibid...  
Dr. ...  
sur...  
and...  
talk...

8. Rep...  
Commis...  
the St...  
tre-S...  
Vol. I...  
Public...  
of the...  
govern...  
Shankar Ray than the...  
ment which had car...  
the planned extermina...  
the Naxalites. Be that as...  
Andra and many...  
no doubt that New...  
State...  
to the Alalis on a plat...  
appeasement is cross...  
said the editor...  
Congress is committing...  
take my word for it."

9. Ibid...  
10. Ibid...  
11. Ibid...  
12. Ibid...  
13. Ibid...  
14. Ibid...  
15. Ibid...  
16. Ibid...  
17. Ibid...  
18. Ibid...  
19. Ibid...  
20. Ibid...

21. Ibid...  
22. Ibid...  
23. Ibid...  
24. Ibid...  
25. Ibid...  
26. Ibid...  
27. Ibid...  
28. Ibid...  
29. Ibid...  
30. Ibid...

31. Ibid...  
32. Ibid...  
33. Ibid...  
34. Ibid...  
35. Ibid...  
36. Ibid...  
37. Ibid...  
38. Ibid...  
39. Ibid...  
40. Ibid...

41. Ibid...  
42. Ibid...  
43. Ibid...  
44. Ibid...  
45. Ibid...  
46. Ibid...  
47. Ibid...  
48. Ibid...  
49. Ibid...  
50. Ibid...



ough my Punjab journey I had kept my  
ealed for that familiar face, that all-too  
r slogan, but not one poster of Indira  
not one banner saying "boond boond  
ki raksha. . .". Was there nothing to pro-  
more? No more dangers to fight? What

RDAN THAKUR travels through Punjab and writes.

could hardly help a  
of *deja vu*. The  
lection results had  
way one had  
only more so. It  
ger, more decisive  
one had reckoned.  
written a fortnight  
polls, giving the race  
ing that this

... saying  
... conclusion, there  
... of sports and snig-  
... several quarters, inclu-  
... of the pundits of the  
... reckoned without  
... some said, the "host"  
... Congress-I. Wait until  
... ramrolling into the  
... consider the solid  
... ing they would get:  
... the fighting and dis-  
... the Akalis; consi-  
... of the Mazbahi  
... other traditional Sikh  
... the Congress — and  
... consider what the  
... of Baba Joginder  
... do to the Akalis.  
... an array of argu-  
... their side, besides the  
... from the wise pun-  
... Gallup poll to bols-  
... Had I jumped to  
... sions?  
... esser look at the elec-  
... in Punjab seemed to  
... force my conclusions.  
... was in Majha or in  
... in the Doaba, the  
... "our" of a secret pact  
... the Congress and the  
... ssed me, as unfaithful.  
... bhambani spectre during  
... days of the emergency  
... case being that while  
... case of forced nas-  
... always elusive  
... that was "in the next  
... the poll rumours  
... so more convincing.  
... the editor of  
... ulated Protes-

me the logic that this was the best way of dealing with the extremists and terrorists, for don't you set a thief to catch a thief?"

Of course you could depend on the fire-breathing, Akalis of the Tohra variety to put a diabolical colour on the pervasive rumour. While Tohra himself had been "talked into the elections" by Sant Longowal and was participating in the "secular democratic battle of ballots", there were his alter-egos giving you his real line. For the intense-looking Devinder Singh Duggal, an "ideologue of the Akali Panth", the "pact" was part of a sinister plan hatched by the Congress-I. "They have had sufficient strains of the conflict. They now want the Sikhs to fight the Sikhs and capitalise on it. This is their game."

But even if one forgot about the fact, where was the "steamroller campaign" of the Congress-I? A more anaemic, more half-hearted poll campaign was hard to imagine. Where was all the verve and aggressiveness that one had seen in the earlier elections elsewhere in the country?

ALL through my Punjab journey I had kept my eyes peeled for that familiar face that all-too familiar slogan, but not one poster of Indira Gandhi not one banner saying "boom boom se desh ki raksha...." Was there nothing to protect and more? No more dangers to fight? What you now had was all wishy-washy, the walls plastered with confusing, "fifty-fifty" posters of Rajiv and Longowal. Somebody not too politically aware could easily run away with the impression that they were fighting on the same side as in a war they indeed were!

The Rajiv-Longowal accord was the heart of the matter, more so for the Centre than for the Akalis. The post-poll scene was

of far greater importance to New Delhi, because on that depended the fate of the accord. Whether the Congress-I in Punjab liked it or not, the Central leadership had decided that the state would need a very different political arrangement if the accord was to be implemented and the terrorists dealt with. Willy-nilly they had come to the conclusion that the Congress-I by itself could not carry out the task, and so even if it went against their grain they had to avoid an outright victory.

This meant that they had to keep out the old Punjab veterans who would perforce go all out for political ascendancy in the state which they had been used to. New faces had to be brought in; people who would not kick up a row about the party's lack of will to go for a straight kill. The Darbaras had to be kept out. So also the stalwarts of the Zail Singh faction. Which is not to say that the Congress-I lead-

reins in their own hands, so that the Barnalas and the Badals did not have much chance to deflect from the given path.

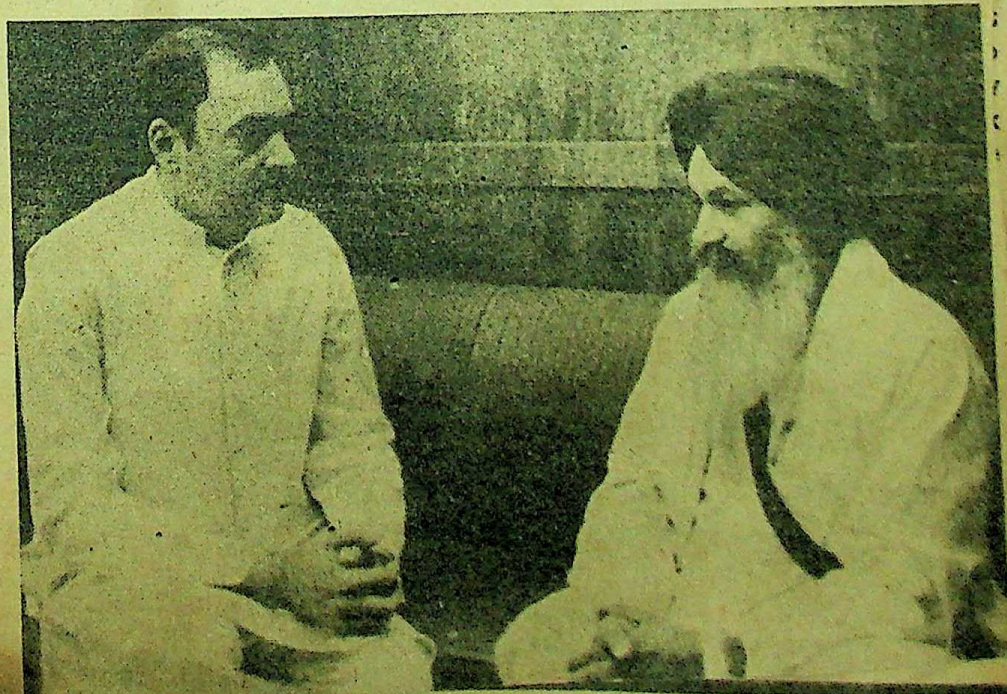
But that was a tall order, a result which necessitated the simultaneous control of too many factors. For instance, it presupposed that the various factions of the Akalis would fight amongst themselves but only to the extent that the damage to them would not be too much; that the Congress-I would get almost a solid chunk of the Hindu votes in the state as also the traditional vote bank of the Mazhabi Sikhs. They hadn't reckoned with the new potential of the Akali call for "panthic unity" which for the first time swayed away the Mazhabis too. Nor had they calculated the damage that the "rumour" of a poll pact would do the Hindu votes for themselves—or even the fact that Baba Joginder Singh's call for a boycott of the elections would have such a miserable impact.

In fact, the Congress-I leadership seemed to have missed the essentials of the new political entity that they faced. Outwardly it was the same old Akali Dal that they were facing, a party split into various factions, composed of various hues of political opinion, from saintly moderates to fire-breathing extremists. But beyond this outer face was also a new identity which had emerged through the fire of their recent struggle which they saw as a new baptism for themselves. The pre-Operation Bluestar Akalis were qualitatively, emotionally, strategically different from the Akalis today.

What had been central to the Akali movement over the years, through all their struggles, was their innate despair—the belief that they could never wrest political power in Punjab on their own, that their dream of a "Khalsa Raj" would always remain thwarted by a ruthless Cen-

New Delhi was now out to hand over Punjab to the Akalis on a platter. "The appeasement is crossing all limits," said the editor. "The Congress is committing harakiri, take my word for it."

ership wanted to end up with a miserable 32. They were working for a much closer race—perhaps a “fifty-fifty” result, so that they could either let the Akalis form a government by themselves, but dependent on them a la the G. M. Shah government or better still, form a coalition with them and keep the



1. Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities (Part I), 1934, page 834, paragraph 1.
2. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 2.
3. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 3.
4. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 4.
5. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 5.
6. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 6.
7. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 7.
8. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 8.
9. Ibid., page 834, paragraph 9.
- \* Dr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a letter to the President, dated June 1, 1934, page 1.







By A.S. ABRAHAM

**A**FTER being in a semi-comatose condition for some 15 months, political activity in the country is returning to the clamorous contention that it is in more usual state. Mr Rajiv Gandhi's assumption of office — the accident of birth and of being there at the right time were his main claims to it — was an analgesic. It relieved the pain of Mrs Gandhi's assassination. It also allayed temporarily the anxieties about what would happen next.

The 1984 general election allowed the country to endorse the continuity it so desperately sought. It was a reaffirmation of hope not untinted by the apprehension that such optimism might turn out to be misplaced. It was like whistling in the dark, reassuring oneself that there was nothing to fear, yet not being quite sure about it. The need for reassurance was so paramount and the sense of relief the poll offered so overwhelming that it overshadowed awareness of the deep-rooted systemic malaise some manifestations of which alone had for the moment been treated.

What was the state of the Congress Party, with no leadership or organisational structure worth the name? What was the future for a democracy so heavily indebted to one party and one political dynasty? How long and at what cost could centrifugal pressures, which in Punjab had brought the country so close to breaking point, be contained? What did the marginalisation of the opposition portend? These questions, to which the events of late 1984 made it urgent to find answers, receded momentarily as things appeared, after all, to be working out all right.

## Centrifugal Forces

As 1985 unfolded, the new leader began to pull one accomplishment after another, magician-like, out of his hat: the anti-defection law, the Punjab and Assam accords, the opening out of the economy, the lowering of taxes, the diplomatic offensive abroad, the improvement of ties with previously unremittingly hostile neighbours. The opposition, reduced to a shadow of its never-too-substantial self, had no choice but to applaud, especially since the new leader went out of his way not to try and topple opposition-run state governments and to consult it in establishing a "national consensus" on matters of moment.

So, political activity was for most of 1985 like a freeze-frame or a tableau. Everyone hitherto so vigorously engaged in protesting, manipulating, posturing, orating, organising, became immobile, as if stuck midway in the very act. Over the whole static scene presided the Prime Minister and his men, armed with the vision of the New Jerusalem to which they meant to lead the country.

In fact, some movement was in evidence. The figures had begun to stir, the political landscape in which they were set and started to alter. The Punjab elections, and then the Assam poll last December, had not only seen the Congress lose in both places. More significantly, and disturbingly, they marked the polarisation of voters along communal lines, with the Akali Dal virtually coterminous with the Sikhs and with in Assam the Muslims sheltering under the newly-formed United Minorities Front while the Assamese Hindus stayed loyal to the also

recently formed Asom Gana Parishad.

Even so, those running the new order were not fazed by such reverses. On the contrary, they turned them to advantage by saying that, conforming to the new politics of which they were the pioneer-practitioners, they had put national before party interests. They rode out other stirrings of possibly adverse change as well, since the national euphoria that had enveloped them from the start was still undisrupted.

The fumbblings on the Tamil question in Sri Lanka (remember the botched deportations?), the large number of foreign journeys in so short a time, the rumblings of dissatisfaction within the party over the new leader's remoteness and over the disproportionate influence wielded by the upper-crust coterie he chose to surround himself with, the hastening *detente* with Pakistan which, until the other day, was being pilloried for being so hellbent on attaining nuclear capability and which western aid-givers to Pakistan, principally the U.S., were being exhorted to prevent at all costs from going nuclear, were among the main features of the shifting landscape that nevertheless did not as yet appear to harm the image or popularity of the new government and its leader.

## Shifting Landscape

What acted as catalysts of disenchantment soon after 1986 began, was first the mishandling of the implementation of the Punjab accord, and then the sudden hike in petroleum, cooking gas, kerosene and other essential commodity prices, which had a snowballing effect on the prices of a host of other items. At one stroke, the poor, lower-middle and middle classes, especially in the cities, were alienated, while the upper-middle classes and the super-rich were enraged by the relentless tax raids. The attempt to undo the damage, by partially withdrawing the hike after the Congress Party had urged the Congress government to do so, only made things worse. The opposition, seeing its opportunity, has hurried to seize it. Suddenly, the fight has been put back into its dispirited body as it begins, after prolonged and enforced inertia, to flex its muscles.

A number of other developments have come together even as the government is, for the first time, beginning to feel the heat of public dissatisfaction. The communal situation in the north, from Srinagar and Jammu to New Delhi right across Uttar Pradesh and down to Madhya Pradesh (Sehore), is deteriorating rapidly, as clashes, curfews and shoot-at-sight orders confirm. The army has had to be called out in the Anantnag area near Srinagar. Nor are other parts of the country tension-free, even if disturbances have not occurred there. The performance of the Majlis Ittehadul Muslimien in the Hyderabad civic poll shows how strong the communal wind is blowing. Following the controversial Shah Bano Supreme Court maintenance judgement, the Muslims are more than ever wary of what they see as thinly disguised attempts to undermine their identity. The dispute over a site holy to both Hindus and Muslims in UP has exacerbated communal ill-will.

In Punjab, where terrorist murders, bank robberies, arson and

mayhem are the order of the day, not only is there a crisis among the Sikhs with the militants in charge of the Golden Temple defying the Akali Dal, the SGPC and Mr Barnala's government, but Hindu-Sikh tensions, long on the boil, are beginning to spill over, as the violent rioting between Punjab Shiv Sena and All-India Sikh Student's Federation activists in Batala in Gurdaspur district shows. These happenings are scarcely local in their implications.

For the time being, the inter-caste warfare over backward-class reservations that shook Gujarat for so long has died down, but only recently, there was a partial recrudescence of it. It could flare up again at any time, especially as weapons are known to abound in the state and large sections of urban-dwellers, especially among the poor, are in thrall to various gangland mafias, smugglers, slumlords and other leaders of the elaborate underworld that has become so conspicuous a feature of life in Gujarat.

The combined effect of these developments is to bring to the forefront once more the anxieties over the system's future that the sense of complacency into which we were lulled by last year's relative quiescence had temporarily pushed to the back of our minds. Now, with Mr Rajiv Gandhi's effectiveness being questioned more and more, has his role been no more than that of a transitional figure needed to enable us to tide over the immediate crisis that his mother's sudden death brought on late in 1984? Or is there more to him than that? If there is, he has yet to prove it. If not what or who can take his place?

## Contempt For Party

Merely to ask these questions is to indicate the gravity of the crisis that has again forced itself on our consciousness. Despite Mr Rajiv Gandhi's berating of his partymen at last December's Congress centenary celebrations in Bombay, the party remains wayward, directionless and faction-ridden. Organisational elections are still only being talked about. Much is being made of the "code of conduct" that Congressmen are to be asked to adhere to, but the country will have to judge by what is delivered, not by what is promised. The Congress lacks a leadership hierarchy as much as ever, and nothing has so far been done to provide one. In fact, the charge against Mr Rajiv Gandhi is that he has contempt for the party *en masse*, preferring to trust a chosen few, hewn out of the same class rock as he is.

Nor does the opposition, its present revival of energy notwithstanding, have much to crow about. It is as fragmented and marginal as ever. What should especially worry it is that the beneficiary of the ruling party's lapses is one regional or communal grouping or another, rather than any party which is proudly and self-professedly national, at least in its aspirations if not in its following. The quickening of the national pulse, even as disenchantment with Mr Rajiv Gandhi's government is setting in and at the same time as some existing conflicts are intensifying while yet others are ripening, indicates that the social and political order is again under pressure and that, while we may have bought time after the last national poll, it is running out much faster than we had bargained for.

Renewed Pressures And Anxieties

Exquisite

Very few that Himadri home of existing from 700 metal cradles patronage and their talents techniques. The ly, unlike the carvings, reveal of skill and presenting the post-Gupta era.

Of all the Pradesh finest and best the perished material used, not easy to of the popu

and other p al embroide ones extant century. Eni favourite mod ceasant wome

Besides nung, the Pal provide a wide including chis and fans, man osary covet used throughf esh, except in and Kinnaur ng is popular As for p identify two and the clasp under review which artists village artist labour. In the authors: "Jas the source shishnu, Durp as believed ensure the illustrating as regarded

imalaya: Prakash

on, a service tron — whic a commi sioned the ist who believed are devoted Manuscript other exam panyay in am 095 v gupis cu did pos 7 am

these terms. Kerala food than to cons' ate such sup- fatten.

live an push a t app

may Jawa ter's the n rose to thence readed tany y the p The p proved Lal B the sta d 10 gh wa

himse positor s tru and

preside ling or p et pec ands of system national Prasad marriage ill. T V. C) patro to the Gandhi a laste by ab he n put g he

dent,

lo- ty tes he

by m it



## "Value-Based Politics" Neither Saints Nor Scoundrels

**M**R HEGDE's resignation as Karnataka's chief minister has been applauded as an instance of the "value-based politics" he is pledged to practise. But it is not only Mr Hegde who is so committed. Mr Rajiv Gandhi, known as "Mr Clean", has spoken often of restoring to politics the pristine virtues attributed to the practice of it in the pre-independence era and in the early years of the Nehru period. Since then, it is generally perceived as having declined into self-serving amorality, at best indifferent to and at worst subversive of ethical values.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi set out to change this from the very start. He brought in new, usually younger and well-scrubbed faces in the hope of raising the quality and credibility of politicians. He lifted the ban on company donations to political parties as a means of legitimising what was previously clandestine. He passed an anti-defection law—post-haste, in some eyes—in the expectation that perhaps the worst scourge of our politics would be dealt a swift and mortal blow. He offered tax concessions so that more people would pay up and fewer would have reason to conceal. He ordered raids (they are still going on) on prominent business houses charged with conducting under-hand transactions. His speech to Congressmen celebrating the party's centenary in Bombay was an impassioned diatribe against them for having sunk to their present depths. Never, in a word, has so much been said and heard about "value-based politics", about running public affairs with the highest norms of rectitude.

Attempts to introduce or restore "value-based politics" imply, firstly, that this is now conspicuous by its absence and, secondly, that it is good and necessary to have it. It is an idealistic notion, rejecting the cynical, and more widely held, view that any politics is inherently rotten and incompatible with moral behaviour. So, communal rioting is attributed to "politics", as is student unrest, labour discontent or any of a host of social ills. If only there were no "politics"... But those who want "value-based politics" take a different tack. Politics there must be, but it must be guided by, conform to, moral norms. Politics is not like original sin, damned in and of itself; it is how you practise it, what you make of it, that determines whether good or ill flows from it.

### Art Of Possible

Between the cynics and the idealists lie the pragmatists. They would say that politics is, as the cliché goes, the art of the possible. Too much concern with values is as dangerous as too little. They would see political decision-making not in Manichaean terms, with clear-cut, black-or-white choices, but as part of the myriad shades of grey of which the fabric of life is composed. Values, in this perspective, are relative, not absolute. One man's meat is another's poison. One man's enemy is another's friend. One country's adversity is another's advantage.

The key word for the pragmatist is "compromise". To the cynic, this is a dirty word, stinking of the corruption that attaches to all politics. To the idealist, it is often in conflict with and must ultimately be subordinated to the values he wishes to uphold in public life. But to the pragmatist, compromise is the

By A.S. ABRAHAM

meat and bones of politics, making possible at least partially what might otherwise be wholly beyond reach. He would even argue that compromise (or consensus) advances the social good more than a rigid adherence to idealistic norms which sees not incremental benefit but instant and total change that can end in disaster. In this sense, pragmatism is morally worthy as "value-based politics".

Mr Hegde's resignation shows the dilemma faced by a self-avowed practitioner of "value-based politics" when he comes up against political reality. Was he being a shade too morally upright in interpreting the adverse high court judgment in the award of attack bottling contracts by his government as an indictment of him, even though no blame attached to him personally? Or was he living up to his professions of irreproachable conduct? His first reaction to the judgment was to refuse to resign, though he was willing to have the matter decided by the Lok Ayukta. From a pragmatist's point of view, that position would have met with the demands both of practical politics, which required him to stay in office, and of morality, which required him to clear himself through an independent arbiter.

### Political Reality

His subsequent decision to go may be interpreted as the idealist winning over the pragmatist. But would adhering to his original decision have made him less of a practitioner of "value-based politics"? Would not the people of Karnataka and the nation at large have gained from his continuance in office? If leaders like him can be counted on the fingers of one's hand, does not "value-based politics" dictate that they stay on as examples worth emulating unless there are compelling reasons (which there were not in this case) to quit? So it is difficult to say whether "value-based politics" has been better served by Mr Hegde's departure than it would have been by his remaining in office.

Even weightier considerations in determining what "value-based politics" means in practice come into play in assessing Mr Rajiv Gandhi's record. In signing the Punjab and Assam accords, he demonstrated his commitment to a problem-solving approach. When the Congress lost the assembly elections in both states, however, there were rumblings within the party over whether putting national before party interests was such a good thing after all. With the accord on Punjab all knotted up over implementation and with Sikh extremists again controlling the Golden Temple complex, doubts about whether the national interest has been served have arisen in the country at large, even among erstwhile staunch supporters of the Prime Minister.

Was he deferring to his critics in the party, who were afraid that it might "lose" Haryana as it had "lost" Punjab and Assam, when he allowed Mr Bhajan Lal, the Haryana chief minister, to demand an insistently and clamorously as opposition leaders in the state that the Punjab accord should not be implemented at Haryana's cost? The protestations of the Congress in Haryana against the accord may have stolen the opposition's thunder

and to that extent for the Congress. Has Mr Rajiv Gandhi, by putting national interests cannot be jeopardised? If he is based "for expediency" evidence that he is slowly and painfully

The frequent change in the cabinet, the bureaucracy, the late motion, the "con" wants Congressmen to desire to hold office, his plans to restore authority of parliament, his non-approach to chief ministers in run by opposition, the manifestation of his bleness, if often

But for all that, beginning to wonder interests are quite good hands. The foreign as much as domestic

On Sri Lanka, it looks as if president Jayewardene him for a ride. On manner in which the is being forced, even spokesmen make statements on crucial occasions, really calling the shots or General Zia. Don't sudden increase in some vital commodities partially withdrawn hue and cry, has eroded in the government, the circumstances of drawal, with Mr Rajiv in the eliminating the person as Prime Minister role as party president.

His criticism of Doordash featuring him so regally, in the (and boring) enhanced his image continues to behave in the same way. More ominous right lying on the opposition-organised on the price rise impression that, on the several other things, change under the pressure, the more they say Altogether, the Prime performance so far is not

### Prevailing Norm

Our experience since have given us plenty of become cynical about politics. But politics is able from the way we things. It is how we try to And the values our politics to their task reflect, heightened form, the norms. Venality is not opoly. It is not as if they corrupt when everyone unfailingly virtuous. So realistic to expect our politics be neither saints nor Politics that is concerned immediate advantage is able as that which pays for practical reality. The to devise a system of neither sanction nor expeditious.

## Resurgence Politicians

Naxalites are getting dangerously active again. They are estimated to be 30,000, and the number of incidents (many entailing loss of human life) in which they are involved or implicated is by the official count, by the year.

The Janata government, influenced by its civil rights whose desire to the emergency objective and attainment of a very liberal anti-Naxalite numbers of whom many splintered Naxalites have been killed in "encounters" with the police were reined in more accountable, long awaited and often dumped on suspicion of being Naxalites (the two come to be all but set free.

### DEATHS

There were 69 violent involving Naxalites and occurred in them. In 1979, 233 incidents occurred, and in 1980, 305 incidents, and 44 deaths. Until this year, there were 48 deaths. In the Naxalites are, in order of, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Punjab and, last less so since last Madu. Interestingly, states are run, in the CPM-dominated, and in the other, by a party president, in which the CPM partner. In both and Kerala, after the 1977 in the former, one things they did was to Naxalites held in without specific charges. decided not to use the security Act (when that same available) or any law to deal with through police "en- at the political and levels.

has a way of knocking into even the most Thanks to the growth of the Naxalites, inside in both states, the government is it has tied its own attempting to stem the yet limited under- by the Naxal- commitment not to use similar legislation. As for the Kerala, it has unsuitably broken the spirit of the letter. It is not a true enough, but, has fallen back on and all-but-forgotten ancore-Cochin Pub- act whose provisions are draconian than NSA!

commonly (and not believed to flourish such as are pre- like Bihar and Andhra Pradesh which is held in a in, Kerala and these terms. Kerala



By A. S. ABRAHAM

is almost a by-word in the country for providing efficient mass social welfare services, especially for children and women. One index (and consequence) of this is the success there of the family planning programme, which is an integral part of a much larger assault on social and economic stagnation.

In West Bengal, the last four years and more have seen the passage and, more importantly, the implementation of progressive land-reform legislation bringing unprecedented benefits to, among others, the hitherto wretched of the Bengali earth, the *bargadars* or sharecroppers. The West Bengal government has put out big advertisements in the press throughout the country trumpeting its manifold achievements benefiting in the main the poor and the weak.

For all these achievements, Naxalism does not seem to be making any less headway in these two states than it is in others generally believed to be symbols of backwardness and exploitation. In West Bengal in February, there were a rash of Naxalite gun-snatching incidents in West Dinajpur district in the north of the state (of the 74 guns carried away, 55 have since been recovered). On September 26, a special branch police sub-inspector was killed by Naxalites near Calcutta. Until September 15, Naxalites were behind 35 incidents in the state and 27 people were killed in them. In 1980, 32 people died in Naxalite-organised incidents, as against only six deaths at Naxalite hands in similar incidents in the state in 1979. So far, some 1,300 arrests are reported to have been made. So much for combating Naxalism at the political and ideological levels!

in Kerala, 13 CPI-ML factions met recently in secret in Triehur district earlier this year to discuss coming together. Subsequently, in the guise of a body innocuously called the "Janakiya Samskarika Vedi" (People's Cultural Forum), the Naxalites have been engaging in the politics of intimidation. "People's courts" have been held with doctors among the first objects of such extra-legal judicial solicitude. In another incident, a lorry carrying cement was intercepted at night and the cargo sold on the spot at the controlled rate (each bag of cement fetches a black-market price of Rs. 60 to Rs. 70). The lorry-owner, himself guilty of breaking the law, could hardly complain to the police! The regrouped Kerala Naxalites bring out a clandestine publication, "Inquilab," which says that their objective is to topple the rule in India of "feudalism, bureaucratic overlordism and imperialism" through "guerilla warfare" and to institute "people's power" in a new, democratic, revolutionary set-up.

While there is a resurgence of Naxalism and of Naxalite activity in many parts of the country and while they have been able to establish (or re-establish) a popular base of some kind, even in Communist-run states like Kerala or West Bengal, nevertheless these developments must be kept in perspective. It is not as if the Naxalites are about to attain the following or the influence (especially on the less extreme left) that they had in the late sixties. They are still essentially a fringe phenomenon, more able to win popular support in specific instances (like campaigns to terrorise doctors into not charging poor patients extortionate fees) than to consistently subvert

How is it, then, that despite being even more peripheral, politically today than they were in their heyday, they are emboldened to carry on their bloody campaigns against the police, bureaucrats, landlords (as now in Lahsuna village just south of Patna, Bihar's capital) and other targets of their ideological wrath? Why are they becoming more and more self-confident about stepping up their violent activities, as the statistics show they are steadily doing so?

But even a favourable climate of opinion, such as now seems to exist, would not have encouraged them to go on the offensive had there not been a source of greater, if indirect and unwitting, encouragement. This is the manifest failure of legitimate and properly constituted authority to do its job. The Lalsunga instance has exposed yet again the natural alignment of authority with local bigwigs even (or especially) when the latter have flouted every legal and moral code. Another aspect of the contempt in which authority is coming to be held emerges in Bihar, where senior IAS officers are in revolt against being made subservient to and humiliated by politicians.

Ultimately, it is the politicians who must carry the can. Because they have set about subverting the very institutions on which the state must depend to push through and win popular acceptance for its policies and programmes—the bureaucracy, the judiciary, the universities, the Press—they have been ensuring that the entire edifice of ameliorative government becomes no more than a facade for a squalid, corrupt, amoral, parallel set-up where hustlers, carpet-baggers and sharks do deals to enrich themselves and impoverish the country and the people at large.

When the face of legitimate and humane authority, on which a stable order rests in the end, becomes a mask covering a visage scarred by the most terrible venality, then the body politic on which that ugly head rests cannot long remain uninfected. Even the infection creeps down, worms of extremism, left or right, communal, sectional (Khalistan secessionist (the north-east), and bold to crawl out, hastening the onset of the rot on which it fattens.



BY ACHIN VANAIK

It is well known that a minority in the party's West Bengal unit, headed by Mr Promode Dasgupta, has been resolutely opposed to the application of such a line in West Bengal where a purely Left Front (LF) government has been in office. If it is clear whether this wing opposes the "left and democratic" front as a national strategy. Even so the failure of the CPM to make inroads into the Hindi-speaking heartlands (one of the principal aims of this strategy) and the recent developments in Kerala must make the "dissidents" within the party more doubtful about the validity of the strategy. Where, in any case, are these "democratic" forces, they may well be asking.

Hitherto, the potential allies were the Lok Dal, representing the "middle peasants" who were seen as class allies of the landless and poor peasantry, and the Janata and the Congress (S), the former Congress (U). The Janata and the Congress (S) were seen as representing the "non-authoritarian" and "non-monopoly" sections of the bourgeoisie, in opposition to the "authoritarian" Congress (I). But now that the Congress (S) in Kerala is about to topple the CPM-led ruling coalition (a "left and democratic" front state government) and so many members and MLAs of the Congress (S) have joined the Congress (I) how long can the CPM argue that the two congress parties have a different class base?

The CPM is in a dilemma. In Kerala and other states outside West Bengal, it cannot hope to share in power unless it forges a united front. But the purpose of acquiring power must be to enhance the strength of the party on a long-term basis. Yet should the CPM attempt, as in Kerala, to go too far to the 'left' or otherwise pursue policies to consolidate its base, it can be brought down and its 'bourgeois' allies can carry out a political realignment with the opposition to keep the CPM out of power. It is the Congress (S) this time, it could just as well be the Janata or any other party the next time.

Even in West Bengal, where a purely Left Front government overwhelmingly dominated by the CPM rules, the party has its problems. The CPM favours the elections to the state legislature to be held in March next, ahead of schedule. It wants to cash in on the organisational weakness of its principal rival, the Congress (I), by denying the latter enough time to mount an effective electoral campaign. The CPM has also made no secret of its fear that the Centre might topple it at any time and impose President's rule on the state. If the party with its allies can receive a new mandate to rule, this "danger" recedes.

In brief, the fortunes of the CPM during the last three years have been mixed, even though it has been at the helm of affairs in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura.

On the face of it the party itself has made remarkable progress. Since 1978 (and the Jullundur party congress) the CPM membership has increased almost from 161,400 members to 267,200. In Kerala the membership has grown from 67,500 to 104,000 and in West Bengal from 43,000 to 78,100. It has become the dominant force of the Indian left (though it is still basically a regional party). The

CPI's shift towards it also reflects the changing balance between the two in favour of the CPM.

parties, in favour of the CPM. But this impressive rise in membership carries its own dangers, and is also a reflection of the tension a party like the CPM faces in trying to be a mass party (an electoral force) and a vanguard party (a force for "radical change") at the same time. Whereas the first requires a dilution of the political pre-conditions for recruitment, the latter requires the opposite. It is only in conditions of "revolutionary" crisis that the tension is resolved and a Leninist-type party, which the CPM claims to be, can hope to achieve the characteristics of being both a vanguard and a mass party. Between February 1917 and October 1917, for example, the Bolsheviks jumped from being a party of 18,000 to over 300,000.

The tensions and internal conflicts within the CPM whatever may be their immediate focus (such as the strategy of a "left and democratic front") are ultimately rooted in the party's dual character. It is a party within the mainstream of Indian politics which finds it necessary to enter the whole bargaining process to alliance with other parties, characteristic of electoral politics. But it is also seen by many of the members and sympathisers as a force for "radical" change which must assign greater priority to implementing its particular programme through the activities of politically dedicated cadres.

The rapid rise in its membership in such a short time could not have been accomplished without the entry on a large scale of the kind of elements who would join the Congress (I) or any other party which happens to be in power. One does not have to believe that the CPM is solely to blame for the spate of "political" murders in Kerala or the "breakdown of law and order" in West Bengal to recognise that the entry of such elements into the ruling party has been a factor in promoting these developments. These entrants could just as easily leave the party when it is out of power.

If, therefore, the aim of the CP in this period was to consolidate itself, it cannot be said to have succeeded in a significant way. In Kerala it is doubtful if the CP has significantly strengthened itself. It can command the loyalty of perhaps 25-30 per cent of the electorate, but any stable alliance among its opponents can keep it out of power indefinitely. The united front which it cannot do without also makes it a hostage of its "bourgeois" allies.

In West Bengal, where for the first time a purely LF government came to power, the prospects were very favourable. The overall outcome seems to have been a failure by the CPM to gain ground in the cities which is partly compensated for by gains in the countryside. In a period of high inflation, the LF government has had to take the blame for the rise in prices of milk, sugarcane, kerosene and a variety of other essential commodities. Neither natural shortages nor control of stocks limited the Centre can fully explain. There is blackmarketing, hoarding and speculation in West Bengal and elsewhere and the efforts to curb these have been just as unsuccessful. On top of it, the ration shops dole out grains and sugar mixed with dirt. The public transport system in Calcutta especially is in a shambles and whether true or not rumours that the LF government has received bribes of crores of rupees are widely believed. The underground railway is years behind schedule and rent is skyrocketing. The CPM has entered with the education system at a disadvantage.

(to be concluded)

**T**HE CPM's hopes of widening its base depend largely on what it has accomplished in the countryside in West Bengal. But it can only expect to have a base which is loyal to it if it alone serves the interests of that base. Such might be the case if the CPM could present itself as the only consistent defender of the interest of the rural proletariat who make up 25 per cent of the rural population and of the two million or so bargadars, and the poorest sections of the peasantry.

But the most significant feature of the CPM's agrarian programme has been that it is intended not to offend the basic interests of those who for the most part operate on "middle-sized" family farms. This class owes no loyalty to any particular party and it is just as prepared to operate outside the party framework in Sharad Joshi type movements as it is to work within the ruling or opposition parties.

This bias of the CPM towards the upper peasantry reveals itself not merely in the policies that the party has tried to implement, but also in what it has failed to do. The issue of minimum wages for the landless labourer, for example, has not been made an urgent policy matter by the LF government. The statutory minimum in 1975 was Rs. 8.10 per day, which accounting for inflation should today be Rs. 12 per day. The LF government has increased DA for white collar workers in the towns but has not done anything to raise the minimum wage in the countryside. Indeed, there are few villages in West Bengal today where the minimum wage is above Rs. 8.

In most places it is less. This is not to say there has not been a rise of some sort in the countryside. There has been and the CPM cadres have largely been instrumental in achieving this. But this has been done through persuading farmers to concede some rise, even if small, rather than building up pressure on behalf of the landless i.e. using "class struggle" methods. It is not just the landlords or the very rich peasants who are opposed to any rise in minimum wages, the "middle-sized" farmers are just as hostile. They are a vital constituent for the CPM's agrarian united front and it is not at all surprising that the campaign for higher procurement prices gets the full support of the CPM. Nor can it be argued that higher procurement prices will lead to higher wages for the landless.

Nor has the CPM distinguished itself from other "bourgeois" parties on the question of an agricultural tax on the rural rich. Not only has there been no imposition of any new tax, however moderate, on the rural rich, but the one tax that did exist and was faithfully collected by previous Congress state governments — the paddy levy on big farmers — has dwindled to nothing.

Coming to what the LF government has done — land redistribution, institutionalisation of credit for the rural poor, food-for-work programmes and Operation Barga — the performance has in general been distinctly superior to that of other states or previous governments (whether Congress or United Front) in West Bengal. But the reforms have nonetheless been limited and it is not certain how permanent they will prove to be. Take the distribution of surplus lands resulting from the implementation of ceiling laws. Out of roughly 140 million hectares of arable land in the country, only a paltry amount of slightly over 1,00,00,000 acres has been vested. Out of this 1,21,20,000 acres have been vested in West Bengal.

From this 1,212,000, 57 per cent or roughly 670,000 acres have been distributed to 1,200,000 beneficiaries primarily from the scheduled caste and tribes. The distribution of another 179,000 has been held up by court injunctions and 360,000 have still to be distributed. In no other State has so much surplus land been wasted. But at the same time, the overall programme is obviously limited.

vested land. Though the system exists with these rural cooperatives, it is not supported by the rural rich. The success of the LF compared to that of previous schemes is shown by the fact that between 1972 and 1978, all but one of the 100 opened 79,900 new hectares of rural sector land, carrying rates of interest. But it is not clear how many of these are the poorest sections. In 1978, the number of new LF accounts exclusively for 1.3 lakhs. This was only 6 per cent of the number of bargadars of vested lands. The vast majority of the rural poor have to depend on the traditional sources of credit and usury.

Various food-for-work schemes like the Rural Work (RWP), Food For Work composite Rural Rehabilitation programme (RRP) were introduced in Bengal in the middle of these schemes a labour of one or two plus two or three million mandays of extra work generated in 1978-79 in 1979-80. Assuming the agricultural labour force was involved along with a number of recorded assignees in these programmes participating household for days of work a year. Since a number of household participating was much less, substantially more extra work was generated. Again the performance was in West Bengal is comparatively favourably than elsewhere. But the food-for-work programmes have faltered. The RWP, which was given by Mr Jyoti Basu, has been discontinued. The Centre has reduced its wheat from the Central

But a "radical" party could simply tax the surplus of rural rich in the state on the food-for-work program regardless of the default of tre. That it does not evaluate doing this is yet another of its bias. Indeed it is more support from the Centre in effect begging the rural poor to other states to indirectly rural poor escape the clutches of rural rich in West Bengal. else it is, this is not a "radical" perspective for liberating the rural proletariat.

Operation Barga has been a success. Bargadars were given tenure rights, and tenants/sharecroppers who did not have secure tenancy rights, the leasehold contract being for the most part one, with landowners, were given power to kick out the unscrupulous. Unlike previous Communist regimes, who placed the burden of proof of tenancy on the tenant, the Left Front government has the onus of rebuttal of tenancy on the landowner. And it has ensured the registration of all bargadars in time, the LF government has ensured the bargadars to register with the revenue courts, whose offices are in the villages. Quite the most innovative, however, was the instructions to peasant organisations to actively help the bargadars with these officials. This was followed by immediate verification of the claims. The most important factor was the backing of these new rights by acquiring these new rights in the absence of such organisations. In due course, the bargadars could find a dozen ways to get a bargadar to "voluntarily" give up his rights.

Out of an estimated 50 per cent of the 100 lakh small and marginal farmers and 100 lakh small and marginal fishers, about 50 per cent have been registered compared to 20 per cent in the previous total of 0.2 million. This is a significant achievement. The LF can take credit for this success.

But the OB is taking credit for the success. The OB owners began organising the participation of peasants in the registration of small and marginal farmers and fishers against them. In the process, the State of West Bengal, the high court and the peasant organisations have been weakened. In the registration of small and marginal farmers and fishers, the heart of the OB has been weakened. Editor, the LF

W. H. C.



# Centralism lies in ruins

by Romesh Thapar

**P**OLITICALLY, on this Republic Day, we have entered a new and unfamiliar phase in our development. Not without reason is there widespread consternation about the implications of what is called "regionalism". The triumph of the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, organised in seven active months by the popular film actor-turned-politician, N. T. Rama Rao, was startling, but add to it the explosive potential of Assam and Punjab and a deep sense of uncertainty and fear takes over.

We have lived so long within the framework of a largely centralised federal system that anything which appears to crack the frame is seen as the beginning of the end. The breakdown of governance in so many spheres, and the confusion among all our parties on the real content of development — particularly in the rural areas of our vast and complex sub-continent — have created a mood of profound demoralisation. A commitment to national objectives, and the confidence it generated is now totally lacking. Neglected local problems have assumed enormous proportions.

It is, therefore, necessary to see regionalism against a background of profound political change. Whatever the failures in the critical area of social transformation at the base of our impoverished society, seven hundred million people (double the population when the republic was first proclaimed) have been able to preserve themselves from the recurring famines of the past, have built an industrial base which could become creatively reproductive and self-reliant, and have to a large extent managed themselves politically despite new tensions and challenges. But, somewhere, we missed out. Perhaps, the growth of regionalism reflects our reluctance to recognise the rise of powerful ethnic identities and sensitivities in our land, the reality at the grassroots.

We were conscious of this perspective in the early years of our freedom when national leadership always stressed the need for a dynamic consensus among regions equal in stature and dignity. Of late, and particularly under the untenable manipulation and interference of Mrs. Gandhi from New Delhi, this consensus has broken down. Ruling politicians in the regions have become the agents of a distant power concerned only with peddling patronage and making money. The almost conscious ruination of the federal system has turned the attention of a desperate people towards alternatives.

Here there has been a healthy growth of national parties — and that means competing federal political cultures around the themes of thoughtful nationalism or relevant socialism — it may have been possible to move from one continental formation to another.

This was not to be. The bankruptcy of continental politics, sharply etched by the Hinduistic strivings of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the ideological rigidities of the communists, left the people in despair. Naturally, in such a situation, when regional alternatives crystallise and make sense, the pendulum swings decisively. It is an act of self-preservation, not a threat to the stability of the federal structure — at least, not immediately.

I say this because in the complexity of India we have always come to terms with regionalism, with pluralism. What else was the Congress culture? When it flourished and energised political management, it compelled even an impatient Jawaharlal Nehru to respect very independent regional leaderships. Today's political challenge is more profound. This sub-continent is no longer a backward, uncertain land, devastated by colonialism. It is taking on the dimensions of a major power, with each developing region conscious of its stake in the future and zealous to guard it. Whole new classes and castes are in movement. Contradictions now exist between urban and rural elites. The continental political culture of tomorrow will have to sensitise itself to these stirrings and strivings.

Frankly, I do not share the fears and disquiets rooted in the growth of regionalism and casteism, and even revivalism among the many communities of India. These are integral to political and economic growth and have to be managed with intelligence, understanding and plain skill. Our political echelons have so far failed to face these problems. It is here that we have to concentrate.

Only a responsive, decentralised system, with adequate structures for problem-solving coordination, can ensure social justice and will have to replace the arrogant assertion of power from New Delhi. We have moved beyond simplistic solutions even though so many continue to put their faith in them. I say this because the central task before us during the coming decade is to design a package of policies which will lift the lost and damned of our society to a productive and humane existence — 300 millions at this moment, and threatening to become 500 millions at the turn of the century.

It is regionalism's historic task to link us to this reality. If it does not, regionalism itself will be engulfed by extremism. Then, of course, the scenario will take another qualitative leap — perhaps, towards balkanisation. But, as we speculate on the shape of things to come, let us not forget that we have the shared experience and political skill to transform the political management of our federal system and to make it work at a new level of effectiveness.

obstrusive and  
ntle push  
without appa  
s.

nnan may  
om Jawah  
he latter's  
it at the  
he rose to  
smoothened  
ce dreaded  
his task  
at by the  
taraj. The  
also proved  
o Mr Lal B  
at the sta  
lived to  
rough we

to himse  
reposito  
ion's tru  
ce and as

Hindi

and, I  
when pe  
feeling  
iple or  
subject pe  
demands o  
the system  
er nationa  
dra Prasad  
Marriage  
er all. I  
V. V. C  
and contr  
sly to the  
Mrs Gand  
ame a la  
pporary  
appy abo  
ich the  
being put  
othing be

president,

lehru  
dvce  
long-  
old  
rass-  
oun-  
table

to-  
can  
cr-  
ty  
ment  
h do  
e its  
elop-  
ment  
re-  
h  
ite  
e insti  
pped  
situation  
e IV

HYAN



by Nikhil Chakravartty

**W**HAT is the shape of things to come for our republic about to enter the thirty-fourth year of its eventful career? Prognostications and premonitions are many; wise, painstaking, path-finding is scarce. We wallow in speculations, in excitement, but we rarely pause to ponder over developments, to discern the new and discard the old. Astrologers thrive, not reason. In such an atmosphere, in which feudal cobwebs continue to spread in a social structure striving to be modern, the political imperatives of socio-economic changes are not easy to discern.

And yet in the India of today new contours have come up, sharp and clear. The results of the January 5 poll for the state assemblies of Andhra and Karnataka have dramatised the onset of a new phase in the life of this federal republic. Whatever might have been the antics of a film star politician in bringing about a tidal wave in Andhra Pradesh and a corrupt chief minister provoking massive resentment against his own party, it is now clear as daylight that the states representing distinct linguistic and cultural entities are no longer going to kowtow to an overpowering Centre.

## Poter

Hither the Lok peasants' lies of santry, a mess (S). The Jan were see authoria sections tion to t (1). But in Kerala led ruling cratic" I so many Congress

Three years ago when Indira Gandhi staged her spectacular comeback to power in January 1980, many had the impression that this would mark the return to a strong centralised executive set-up after the fiasco and disintegration of the Janata Raj. The slogan of "government-that-works" advanced by Indira Gandhi and her team had almost a Peronist ring with a highly personalised political structure. But it was soon evident that the pull of regional loyalties and the urge for regional identity could no longer be contained by browbeating or blandishment by the Centre. Despite the sweeping return of the Congress (I) to office in most of the states, the whip of the Central leadership of the party became less and less effective. Apart from the fact that the Congress (I) neglected to build a party structure worth the name, one of the reasons why factional politics gained the upper hand in the running of ministries at the state level is that regional pulls and pressures could hardly be met by fiat from the Centre. The summary manner in which the Centre appointed and displaced chief ministers in Andhra Pradesh and the obduracy with which it retained the one in Karnataka, demonstrated how insensitive the Centre had become to the awakened consciousness of the populace in those states — a point which was naturally exploited to the maximum by the adversaries of the Congress (I) particularly those that had raised the regional flag.

The electoral setback suffered by Indira Gandhi personally in the two Southern states had one positive consequence: it has woken up a large section of our countrymen to the new reality of regional assertion. Those who, from Indira Gandhi downward, were condemning regionalism as such have got a rebuff: rather, regionalism in our republic has ceased to be a dirty word.

What then would be the role and structure of the Central authority in our democratic set-up? The Centre in the coming months will have to adjust its sights to the new mosaic of state governments owing allegiance to different parties or groups, a number of which are frankly basing themselves on regional loyalties. This requires not a new constitution but a realistic framework for perceiving the emerging realities of the Indian scene. The search

for regional identity is by itself a barometer of mass awakening, the mass urge to participate and decide the polity of the region concerned. It also marks the people's awareness of the wealth and potentialities of the land where they live and toil. This new attachment to one's homeland is by itself a milestone of Indian democracy.

At the same time, one has to handle this new-born urge with care and wisdom. Otherwise distortions are bound to come up.

In the coming months, there will be a spate of populist measures by most of the state governments, both the newly-elected ones anxious to live up to their poll promises to the voter, and the other ones eager to refurbish their image before the next hustings. Free meals for the school children is only one of such measures, doles for the unemployed is another. These and many others likely to be pulled out of the hat by the state governments will turn out to be a heavy burden on the exchequer which is bound to impinge on the limited resources for development programmes.

Regional jingoism, particularly in a period of growing unemployment, has the danger of whipping up such baneful battle-cries as "jobs for the sons of the soil", thereby hampering to a large measure the growth of a unified national economy harnessing modern technology, which every state within the republic needs for the well-being of its own people. The widening disparities both horizontally and vertically cannot be reduced without a national outlook enjoined by the states themselves.

The agenda for tomorrow therefore demands a new political ethos to be nurtured and enforced by both the Centre and the states: a sort of give-and-take, a shared co-existence for mutual benefit. It is in this context that the initial exchange of messages between the Prime Minister and the chief ministers of Andhra and Karnataka assuring cooperation to one another, is to be welcomed as the first step, but only as the first step.

There is widespread feeling, amply justified, that the Congress (I) leadership, though running the administration over the greater part of the country apart from wielding power at the Centre, has not bothered to build a party organisation worth the name, and decisions even at the district level have to be referred to Mrs. Gandhi herself. Apart from the physical impossibility of running such a set-up, the need to respect regional feelings within the party itself has become imperative. Not only chief ministers must cease to be hand-picked nominees of the Centre without any mass base, but the Pradesh party bodies should be re-invigorated and given a measure of autonomy to meet the challenge in their respective regions. This applies not only to the Congress (I) but other parties claiming to have all-India following.

A serious onslaught upon the fabric of Indian democracy has been the large-scale spread of corruption in public life. To wish it away as a global phenomenon or to accuse one another of being more corrupt than themselves — as most of the parties tend to do — will not enhance their standing in the eyes of the masses. Unless corruption is weeded out — at least the first steps were taken for such an operation — the standing of political parties

week we shall be celebrating the anniversary of our Republic. At this happening which may transform the political order which was born with the adoption of the constitution on 26, 1950.

constitution was born amidst the fight on the nation by partition. The well-known lesson of Indian history, country faced a disaster, both internal order and external security, a weak centre. So the founding fathers constituted a strong pro-centristive bias.

proposed centre-executive oriented needed an instrument in the national party for its survival. Government was available in the Indian Congress. And, mercifully for us, it had his senior colleagues, a leadership on one hand, capable of maintaining the loyalty of the people even in times of and, on the other, of being demands of India's extraordinarily ty. Thus the foundations of the were well laid.

nce 1967, the order has inevitably considerable strain, because however strong and flexible, can

accommodate forces which great economic changes like the ones India must generate.

country has not been quiescent, it has been steadily changing and has been having their impact on the system. Tamil Nadu has, for example, been under the grip of the Congress for all practical purposes become a state which is well entrenched in Kerala and two other southern states have seen the rise of regional parties. The regional party of the Karnataka Kranti Ranga Party is formally an all-India party but in Karnataka as a regional force it is in no position to repeat the party's performance.

h Thapar and Nikhil Chakravartty are the resurgence of regionalism. But into future developments it should be that regionalism is only one of the work in the country. Other things are taking place in India distinguished contributors will discuss in As in the past, we would like to have a discussion.

Continued in column 2

FOR various torical, t... to ex... power... mala hide po... decision mak... at present... tralised tot... than democ...

In 1956, K... how the pro... was stopped... sions were r... leadership a... essential wo... A little may have first ten ye... dence becau... practically... led to quick... field and a... inexperience...

The situ... just the op... plethora of... posts are be... graded in... satisfy thei... officers do m... reeding or... spite of con... tralisation... decades, th... progress in...

Even m... several dec... been propo... more finan... tive power...

Manuals... not change... less of a g... a halter ru... the early... the USA, ... ing a pater... ly signed... Noone wh... In several... ing repair... and gover... are issued... ernment...

officers, w... legal po... thought f... these petty... These ap... ples. Most... ernment... of petty p... Secretariat... several o... cies is kn... and many... thundered... streamline... cedures. I... many h... orders, m... much wor...

The syst... that hap... in which... nally inter... cleared... maze.

Mala... There a... also for... this categ... by State... fers of... staff. All... indulged... time back... made into... quota of... in M... l s... l s... l s...



# OVER-CENTRALISATION IN DECISION-MAKING

By N. S. SAKSENA

FOR various reasons—historical, the desire of Secretaries to expand and to become more powerful and a few even mala fide political motives—the decision making process in India, at present resembles more centralised totalitarian regimes than democracies.

In 1956, Khrushchev laid bare how the progress of the USSR was stopped because petty decisions were referred to the top leadership and a good deal of essential work was held up.

A little over-centralisation may have been justified in the first ten years after independence because the departure of practically all European officers led to quick promotions in the field and a good few were quite inexperienced.

The situation at present is just the opposite. There is a plethora of senior officers and posts are being constantly upgraded in all departments to satisfy their aspirations. These officers do not require spoon-feeding or control in details. In spite of constant talk of decentralisation for the last two decades, there has been little progress in this direction.

Even manuals, which are several decades old, have not been properly revised to give more financial and administrative powers to the field officers.

Manuals and rules, which do not change with time, become less of a guide and more like a halter round the neck. In the early nineteenth century in the USA, each certificate granting a patent right was personally signed by the US President. No one will advocate this now. In several states, orders regarding repairs of motor vehicles and government buildings etc are issued by the State Government. Apparently, senior officers, who possess serious legal powers, are not yet thought fit enough to exercise these petty powers.

These are not isolated examples. Most manuals and government orders reserve a host of petty powers with the State Secretariats. The absurdity of several of these historical legacies is known to everybody and many Chief Ministers have thundered and promised to streamline these red-tape procedures. It is a tragedy that many have blindly signed orders, making centralisation much worse.

The system remains rigid; all that happens is that projects, in which ministers are personally interested, somehow get cleared quickly through the maze.

## Mala fide

There are mala fide reasons also for over-centralisation. In this category fall orders issued by State Government for transfers of petty non-gazetted staff. All political parties have indulged in this game. Some time back, it was sought to be made into a system by giving a quota of transfers to all legislatures in Madhya Pradesh. It is a sight in state capitals where ministers devote practical-

ly all their energies to transfer rather than to policy decisions.

While over-centralisation in postings and transfers leads to demoralisation and confusion in services the same tendency in financial control leads to big projects being held up for petty sanctions.

At many places, the staff sits idle and costs escalate while orders are being awaited. In many organisations, work deteriorates because top posts are not filled in for several months. Case-studies of various big projects are repetitive stories of slow decisions, escalation of costs and confusion.

In a few states, thousands of files lie wanting for months for the routine signatures of the chief ministers. In Rajasthan, when Mr. Pahlajia was the Chief Minister, it was a mighty difficult task to locate a particular file in the heap awaiting the Chief Minister's signatures. Many of these files, under a logical system, should never go to the chief minister and the heads of departments should be competent to pass orders. In quite a few states, large amounts of money are paid to get the relevant files out of the heap and to get it signed by the political executive. It is high time that the heads of departments and even deputy heads of departments should be given powers to make these signatures.

## Devolution

During the last five years, there have been generous upgradation of posts in practically all the departments. This has, in most cases, not been accompanied by any devolution of powers.

What is the use of having several additional and deputy heads of departments if they have neither any financial nor any administrative powers?

It is against elementary principles of command and control to ask any officer to do the work of a lower rank. Special secretaries and additional secretaries doing the work of joint secretaries, inspectors-general of police doing the work of DIGs and so on are more the rule than the exception.

The fact is that U.P. has over 30 officers all above the rank of DIGs but they have not been able to benefit the poor constables. About 110 policemen lost their lives in 1981 in U.P. but very few next of kin got their statutory dues in time because orders can only be passed by the U.P. Secretariat. It is shocking that these powers have not been transferred to IGs/DIGs.

Ministers have been commendably prompt in attending funerals of policemen but do not care to decentralise powers so that widows may get pensions promptly.

How can morale be maintained in a police force when all that the I.C. can tell a policeman's widow is that he will try, ex-officio secretary.

to move the Government to expedite?

Decentralisation of both administrative and financial powers is a MUST if gross delays, escalating costs and human tragedies are to be reduced. In this respect, one cannot welcome the Railway Minister's initiative—made with doubtful motives—to transfer many of the powers of the Railway Board to general manager—practically all of whom are very senior and seasoned.

However, the devolution should neither start nor end here. Many of the powers exercised by the minister himself should be transferred to the Railway Board and then quite a few powers of general managers be transferred to divisional superintendents. Similar devolution of powers is the crying need from the State Home Departments to Inspectors-General of Police and DIGs of Police.

Over 50% of the paper work in all state Secretariats and in the offices of heads of departments is not merely a waste but a direct cause of inefficiency. Many reports and returns are drafted by the babus, received by the babus and filed by them without any senior officer either studying them or making any use of them.

## Bureaucratic jungle

This bureaucratic jungle has grown so fast that many senior officers tell their juniors that if they want to really have any letter receive attention they must address it by name or underline the important portions or, better still, show it to them personally. All this has been said repeatedly and many times decisions have been made to cut down the jungle. At the end of months of labours about 5% of the reports and returns are abolished and after a few weeks many more added to restore the old chaos.

Unfortunately, the political executive lacks the expertise to issue any effective orders. As a consequence of all this, the percentage of India's G.N.P. spent on the bureaucracy goes on multiplying.

An efficient system puts seasoned administrators in the field and gives them enough powers to be effective. The starting point should be to make field officers senior to those in the Secretariat as in the Armed Forces where the three Chiefs of Staff have a higher rank and status than the Defence Secretary.

One incidental good consequence will be to stop the mad race of experts for pen-pushing jobs in the Secretariat. This is not a radical suggestion but a conservative one as it will restore the pre-1947 position in the States. Before even 1960, inspectors general were senior to home secretaries and chief engineers were senior in status to secretaries of their departments. No head of the department was then keen to become

obtrusive and gentle push without appeal.

Shuman may from Jawahar the latter's but at the time he rose to smoothness once dreaded his law that by the pm maraj. The also proved to Mr Lal Bahan, at the state rt-lived to rough work.

to himself repositio tion's true nce and as l.

Hindi riots

hand, there when president feeling principle or subject people demands of the system ger national andra Pradesh Marriage after all. V. V. and contragely to the Mrs Gandhi came a happy about which the being put nothing he

president

lehra twice long-old grass-ountable pe-can-tries ment, ies h do e its elopment- re- its opera e institu pped int situation e IV

TYAN



g H O k m s e c t h o c s j t h A t e n e c i



th n w a u n n h g l e c c r h c e f l  
ra Be po Bu mu me sho rala othe late and out oppo of p ime, anan ame, Eve  
purely wheim ules, CPM state I next, i ash i ess o res (I time to campai no secr might to pose Pr the par a new i precedes.  
In bri during th mixed, e the helm Kerala a  
On the has made 1978 (am gress) the creased al to 267,200 has grown and in W 78,100. If force of I still batti

available.

perceiving the emerging realities of the Indian scene. The search

the standing of political party

Continued in column 2

The investigations

p c li w E U p ti el w co ou wi iss



## Question mark over Assam

It is no longer a question of whether the forthcoming elections in Assam will be free and fair but whether there will be a poll at all. The Election Commission has ruefully admitted that the situation in that State is not "absolutely ideal" for holding the elections. This is undoubtedly the under-statement of the year. Anti-poll violence has abated somewhat but physical intimidation of State employees, candidates and even the electorate continues. The immediate problem confronting the Election Commission is where to get the large staff needed to conduct the elections in Assam. Whether out of sympathy for the Assam agitators or because of fear for their own lives, the State Government employees have refused to do any election work.

Similarly, employees of the Bihar Government have declined to go on deputation to Assam for election duty despite threats and inducements and they have made it clear that they will disobey the Government directive in this regard. Indeed the confrontation between the Jagannath Mishra Government and the various administrative service associations over the order of deputation is tending to snowball into an all-India staff agitation. Reportedly, the National Executive of the All-India State Administrative Services Federation is meeting shortly to discuss the issue and evolve guidelines for the State units. While conceding that technically the State Government could not force its employees to work for another State, the Bihar Chief Minister had in a statement cited the constitutional provision which empowered the Election Commission to avail itself of the services of any government servant for election work in any State. However, the Bihar Government has so far opted for discretion rather than valour and refrained from invoking this provision.

Having failed to enlist the support of its own election staff and those from Bihar, the Assam Government has extended the insurance cover scheme to other States and to two Central Government organisations. Under the scheme, families of Government employees killed while on poll duty will receive monetary compensation up to Rs.2 lakhs. It is, however, unlikely that Government employees from other States will be forthcoming for election work in Assam. The Election Commission is thus caught in a cleft-stick. Under the law, it has no power to stop the election process already initiated and it cannot hold the elections unless the requisite staff is available. Even if the elections are held, they will not reflect the people's will for it is extremely doubtful if many people will come forward to vote. It is difficult to suggest a way out at this stage. All that one can say is that things will get messier and messier in Assam until the knotty issue of foreign nationals is resolved.

received no formal schooling but educated himself thoroughly in religious scriptures and theology.

travellers half his age.

CHRONICLER



I-

ATD

not po  
lution  
next J  
were  
the ni  
identifi  
"left  
deed,  
this be  
It is  
in the p  
ed by  
been re  
cation o  
gal whe  
governm  
less clea  
the "lef  
national  
of the  
the Hinc  
the pri  
and the  
rala mus  
the parti  
validity  
any cas  
forces?

Poten

Hithert  
the Lok  
peasants"  
lies of  
santry, a  
ress (S),  
The Jan  
were see  
authorita  
sections  
tion to t  
v (I). But  
an Kerala  
led ruling  
cratic" I  
so many  
Congress  
h (t) how  
the two  
ferent cl  
The C  
rala and  
Bengal, i  
power un  
But the  
must be  
the party  
should th  
rala, to  
otherwise  
late its b  
and its  
out a po  
opposition  
of power,  
ime, it  
anata of  
ime.  
Even i  
ourelly L  
whelming  
rules, the  
CPM fav  
state legis  
next, ahet  
ash in a  
ness of it  
ress (I), b  
time to n  
campaign.  
no secret  
might top  
pose Pres  
the party  
a new ma  
recedes.  
In brief  
during the  
mixed, ev  
the helm  
Kerala an  
On the  
has made  
1978 (and  
gress) the  
creased alt  
to 267,290,  
has grown  
and in W  
78,100. It  
force of it  
will basics

available.

perceiving the emerging realities  
of the Indian scene. The search

the standing of political party  
Continued in column 7

The Investigations





# President of all Indians

## In Focus

No previous president ever faced such a testing time as Giani Zail Singh has gone through in recent days and it is doubtful, to say the least, if anyone else in his place could have come out of it as well as he has.

**P**RESIDENTS in this country, like British monarchs, are expected to be only constitutional heads of state. They reign but do not rule. This does not mean that over the years successive presidents have not tried, however unsuccessfully, to play an activist role. Nor has there been any dearth of people egging on an incumbent to "assert himself", whatever that might mean.

The late Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was pilloried even posthumously for failing to refuse to sign the proclamation imposing internal emergency in 1975. And yet all those who had argued that it would have been perfectly proper, constitutional and indeed obligatory on his part to reject the Prime Minister's advice to impose emergency reversed their stand later. When the then acting president, the mild-mannered Mr B. D. Jatti, demurred about nine proclamations placed before him to dissolve nine state assemblies, they screamed that he

must either sign on the dotted line or quit. In the end, through the 44th amendment to the Constitution, a compromise, both intriguing and revealing, was reached. Under it, the President, when in disagreement with the advice tendered by his council of ministers, could ask for its reconsideration by the council. But in the event of the advice being repeated, he was bound to abide by it. He had no other go.

It is no mere accident that during the seven years since the 44th amendment, there has not been a single case of the President asking the council of ministers to reconsider any issue. Since no cabinet is likely to entertain such a request and the consequences of its refusal for the incumbent of Rashtrapati Bhavan are crystal clear, no president can possibly want to place himself in an embarrassing position. In other words, in terms of presidential powers, in reality rather than in theory, the country is back to where the makers of the Constitution wanted it to be. For all the fuss and bother over it, the 44th amendment might never have been enacted.

With all that, however, it does not follow that the President of the Indian republic is a mere "rubber stamp", a silly pejorative employed all too often in the juvenile and inflamed political cacophony that has been fashionable in this country since the Congress split in 1969, and more particularly since 1975. The President of India has immense capacity to influence the affairs of the state and the nation through his prerogative, in Bagehot's famous words, to "caution, warn and advise". Even more purposeful can be the intangibles such as the weight of his personality, his equation with the head of government and, above all, his capacity, in times of crises, to play a constructive role

without being obtrusive and give things a gentle push in the right direction without appearing to be even trying.

Dr. Radhakrishnan may have drifted apart from Jawahar Nehru during the latter's twilight years. But at the time Panditji's passing he rose to the occasion and smoothed the path for the once dreaded succession, though his task lightened somewhat by the political skill of Kamaraj. The philosopher-president also proved to be a great help to Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri when, at the start of his sadly short-lived tenure, Shastriji ran into rough waters

**He was true to himself as both the repository of the nation's trust and confidence and as devout Sikh.**

because of anti-Hindi riots in South India.

On the other hand, there have been occasions when president despite strong feeling issues of principle or principle have had to subject personal sentiment to the demands of the Constitution and the system, thus to the larger national interest. Dr. Rajendra Prasad signed the Hindu Marriage Divorce Bill after all. Ten years later Mr V. V. Giri whose dramatic and controversial election due largely to the "science vote" of Mrs Gandhi's followers became a landmark in India's contemporary history — was most unhappy about the manner in which the strike was then being put down. But there was nothing he could do about it.

No previous president,

The "tamara sheet", "stamp", was heard yet again. Some of the irreverent jokes that began circulating in the corridors of power, to say nothing of the Capital's cocktail circuit, would not bear retelling. But such is Delhi's political milieu that soon enough the old jokes began to boomerang on their begetters. Those who had come to scold at the President's alleged idleness stayed on to complain of his alleged defiance. Giani, not unaware of the goings-on in the vast whispering gallery that is New Delhi, could only smile and keep his own counsel.

This is entirely typical of the homespun, unpretentious man deeply rooted in the soil who has completed nearly two-fifths of his tenure as the country's seventh president.

Every Indian dignitary's ascension to high office is accompanied by the sudden publication of a spate of his or her biographies. The case of Giani Zail Singh is no exception to the general rule. All his biographers have underlined the fact that he has reached Rashtrapati Bhavan having started from a mud-hut. This is literally true.

Giani, a Ramgarhia, was born in a poor family in a village in the former princely state of Faridkot on May 5, 1916. He received no formal schooling but educated himself thoroughly in religious scriptures and theology.

He has come a long way since then. But in all his basic attitudes towards men and matters this simple, warm-hearted man with an earthy sense of humour remains totally unchanged. He can combine a lot of easy informality with the dignity of his exalted office.

Returning home after heart-bypass surgery he invited the then ambassador to the U.S., Mr K. R. Narayanan, to stay with him at Rashtrapati Bhavan. On the eve of the Narayanans' arrival, he told his staff to arrange for their stay in the Dwaraka suite.

"But Sir," argued his aides, "no Indian has ever stayed in this suite."

"Why not?" demanded the President. "And in any case as the rightful occupant of this house I alone will decide where my guests will stay."

Heart surgery has not apparently diminished the President's capacity for strenuous work. Only recently he travelled practically round half the world, visiting 12 countries in 14 days. At the end of it all he was less tired than his fellow-travellers half his age.

CHRONICLER

Nehru  
advice  
long-  
could  
grass-  
coun-  
stable  
pe-  
can  
er-  
ties  
ty  
ment,  
ies  
h do  
re-  
its  
elop-  
ment-  
re-

IV

IVAN



## DOES PEA

apparently c  
have un  
but we proba  
mattered was  
of a naturally  
community.  
religious lead  
again in Punj  
we understand

Does all th  
television has  
efficiency bar  
no, in the w  
lous Sir Hun  
planning com  
ster. All the  
they have it  
that whenev  
Dondarshan  
degree of co  
crisis" here  
sions when t  
have told th  
is blood  
later be go  
riad and  
meeting wer  
than in this  
in every ser  
the feeling  
his or her

The incor  
tag placid  
traceable to  
Perhaps the  
a profess  
desire to e  
rare, value  
tional comp  
missing. Th  
at the top  
was obvious  
the national  
mony was te  
I. K. L. I  
e shown n  
minute readi  
peech. Then  
read. Shab

and its  
out a p  
opposition  
at power  
unc, it  
anata of  
ime.

Even i  
rately Li  
whelming  
ules, the  
CPM fav  
state legis  
text, she  
ush in  
ness of i  
ress (1), t  
time to n  
campaign.  
no secret  
might top  
pose Pres  
the party  
a new ma  
recedes.

In brief  
during the  
mixed, ev  
the helm  
kernia an

On the  
has made  
1973 (and  
gress) the  
creased at  
to 267,290  
has grow  
and in M  
78,100. If  
force of  
will bank

should be readily conceded  
parliamentary system of govern  
following a national debate  
because we were familiar with  
the system as such has  
one form of presidential sy  
advocates fall into two  
believe that the presi  
needs of the country  
the decline of the Congress  
we face the prospect  
we now go over to a sy  
the Centre is not dependen  
the Lok Sabha for his sur  
he has been elected.

use in the first category  
creates of the presidential  
for the United States. t  
ainted with the working  
known, the U.S. system  
sions, that the administrat  
on account of the tussle  
of an apparently all-pow  
of the U.S. dominance in  
nothing to do with his ca

are of course, presid  
French one is being stron  
But has anyone of its  
note of the fact that Fr  
administration in western E  
whether it is suited to Ind  
religious diversity and  
to justify our copying

Asirists have the adva  
in a difficult period, th  
that condition since Ne  
ally since the 1967 gene  
lost its near monopoly of  
is no case for the propos  
been made.

who favour a change  
tent framework of a new  
To the best of our know  
76 Mr A. R. Antulay pro  
ach a framework of a po  
at a scheme for perpetua  
consults our intelligence wi  
the presidential system wit  
Mrs Gandhi's blessing ha  
mal debate and not been  
the phrase the Soviets po  
downfall, is truly hare-b  
while we keep our prom  
debate, however spurio  
a new constitutional a

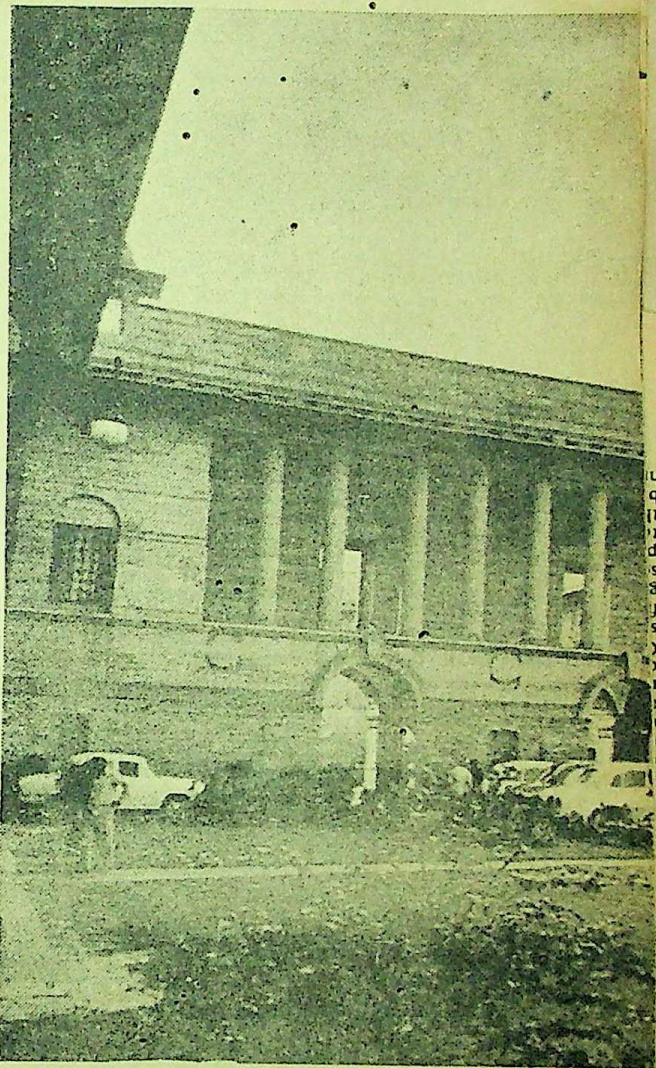
## President coul

FULLI NARIMAN has cor  
rectly pointed out that  
of the former colonies  
became independent af  
the Second World War  
pagan with parliamentary  
of governments have shift  
on to military dictator  
cept for India  
naturally worried about  
on the independence  
policy which is a sine  
for any democracy. But  
to be analysed is why  
ary forms have not  
They were bequea-

has been made to m  
a nation state other th  
was done by Nehru thro  
institutions he built and  
of planning and devel  
Competitive electoral p  
led to the tendency to con



# From L To Rash



should be readily conceded that we did not opt for the parliamentary system of government as a result of a consensus following a national debate. We went in for it primarily because we were familiar with it. But it is not equally evident that the system as such has failed. Why then the plea for some form of presidential system?

The advocates fall into two categories — those who genuinely believe that the presidential system is better suited to the needs of the country, and those who fear that in view of the decline of the Congress and the absence of a viable alternative, we face the prospect of political instability and worse. We now go over to a system in which the chief executive is not dependent on the support of the majority in the Lok Sabha for his survival in office for the period for which he has been elected.

Those in the first category are in a minority among the advocates of the presidential system. And despite their admiration for the United States, they are apparently not too well acquainted with the working of the American system. For it is well known, the U.S. system is not intended to produce quick decisions, that the administration is more often than not paralysed on account of the tussle with Congress, that the appearance of an apparently all-powerful American President is the result of the U.S. dominance in international relations, and that nothing to do with his capacity to initiate action at home.

There are of course, presidential systems of other types. The French one is being strongly commended in certain sections. But has anyone of its proponents ever taken a pause to note the fact that France has had the most centralised administration in western Europe for centuries and to find whether it is suited to India in view of its ethnic, linguistic, religious diversity and its size? And is the system old enough to justify our copying it?

Realists have the advantage of being more realistic. We are in a difficult period, though that is not new. We have been in that condition since Nehru's death in 1964, and more so since the 1967 general election when the Congress lost its near monopoly of power. This is not to say that there is no case for the proposed change but the case has not been made.

Those who favour a change should work out an internally consistent framework of a new Constitution which we can defend. To the best of our knowledge, no one has done it so far. In 1966 Mr A. R. Antulay produced something which was not much more than a framework of a possible new democratic constitution, a scheme for perpetuating the emergency. Mr Vasant Shinde's intelligence with his plan which seeks to combine the presidential system with the parliamentary one. Hope Mrs Gandhi's blessing has been confined to the idea of a national debate and not been extended to his scheme which, in the phrase the Soviets popularised at the time of Khrushchev's downfall, is truly hare-brained.

While we keep our promise of opening our columns to a debate, however spurious in the absence of a framework for a new constitutional arrangement.

## "President could spell stability"

—KRISHAN KANT

RAJIV NARIMAN has correctly pointed out that the former colonies became independent after the Second World War with parliamentary governments have shifted to military dictatorship. He is naturally worried about the independence of India which is a sine qua non for any democracy. But he fails to analyse why the various forms have not been bequeathed to third world countries by the colonial powers on the pattern of democratic institutions in Britain. Multiparty democracies emerged after the eclipse of feudalism as a dominant factor and the rise of industrialism and capitalism when the old feudal relations were replaced by new nationally pervasive production relations along with the establishment of the nation states.

Almost all the colonies which became free had feudal and tribal socio-economic structures with strong feudal, tribal, ethnic loyalties. The political parties that came into being were mostly

based on those loyalties and those parties which were formed during the colonial struggle disintegrated and relapsed to their primary ethnic loyalties. The reason was that there were no socio-economic structures at the base to support national parties. The case of India was unique. The growth of the Congress as a mass-based party with grassroots spread all over the country, was the contribution of Gandhiji who projected through his person and programmes a powerful psychomotor appeal unifying a large section of Indian society. This could not have been done by any

other leader. The wisest thing that Nehru did was not to heed the advice of Gandhiji to disband the Congress. Once disbanded, he could not have created such a grassroots national party and the country could not have had a stable government for such a long period. No government leader can build up such a party. Parties created by the fiat of government leaders are like bubbles which do not last long. India, despite its industrial and capitalist development, continues to be a fragmented feudal and tribal society re-

other leader.

The wisest thing that Nehru did was not to heed the advice of Gandhiji to disband the Congress. Once disbanded, he could not have created such a grassroots national party and the country could not have had a stable government for such a long period. No government leader can build up such a party. Parties created by the fiat of government leaders are like bubbles which do not last long. India, despite its industrial and capitalist development, continues to be a fragmented feudal and tribal society re-

has been made to make a nation state other than what was done by Nehru through the institutions he built and the process of planning and development. Competitive electoral politics led to the tendency to conso-

gions have grown. There is no consciousness of the stake in the integrated national economy and polity which are the foundations of a nation state. Otherwise there would not have arisen demands

when the phenomenon. India is still in the process of becoming a nation state within the given geographical boundaries with the old and new structures struggling in the com-

newly ruling political elite operating through democratic institutions. They quickly slipped into chaotic and anarchic situation

Continued on Page IV

## "Defections would come to a halt"

— B. D. MANDHYAN



# From Lok Sabha To

Continued from Page I

Without the requisite checks and balances provided in the system, destabilised politics came under the only disciplined force in such societies—the armed forces, either directly or via the civilian dictatorship route, namely one-party states. Army rule, in course of time, becomes victim to the worst maladies, to remedy which, it takes over the government. Army rule is generally a form of corruption, organised and institutionalised. Even if the civilian government is brought back by the army there is every chance of the army taking over again as has happened in Ghana and Nigeria. Political parties are always on probation under the vigilance of the army. Once the army takes over or enters the system, the return to democracy is a very long-drawn, tortuous struggle. It may happen when the armed forces split due to internal contradictions. It may be that even then one section of the armed forces replaces the other. The road to freedom and democracy from army rule is long and perhaps it is easier to mobilise against foreign rather than national tyranny.

India has reached the critical crossroads. All political parties have used the loopholes in the Westminster model to strengthen themselves at the cost of the rest. The frequent instability visible in the states and born out of the internal contradictions of the partners in a coalition, or engineered from Delhi for internal party purposes or to weaken the opposition during the last 37 years, utilising the greed of the legislators to split parties, is now about to reach Delhi itself. We experienced it in 1979. Vasant Sathe is realistic when he does not foresee the Congress (I) getting an absolute majority in the next Lok Sabha elections. One need not have worried had there been the prospect of a stable opposition government. The danger of Bihar, as after the 1967 elections, being repeated at the Centre is real. This will surely destabilise the Indian polity.

The Indian army is no doubt apolitical and has loyally served the country without interfering in its politics. But political parties cannot continue to play havoc with the system as they like. Once the organised political forces become corrupt and disruptive, are not able to manage the system and the politicians lose their legitimacy, the vacuum will be filled by the only organised force existing in the system. It is difficult to predict the paths through which that stage may be reached. It could be in one of the following ways.

A breakdown coming through the failure of the political parties—both ruling and the opposition.

Political leadership in the initial stage ruling with the help of or sharing power with the armed forces, and in the second stage their being thrown off as dysfunctional to the system.

Voluntary handing over to the

disciplined force as happened in Burma.

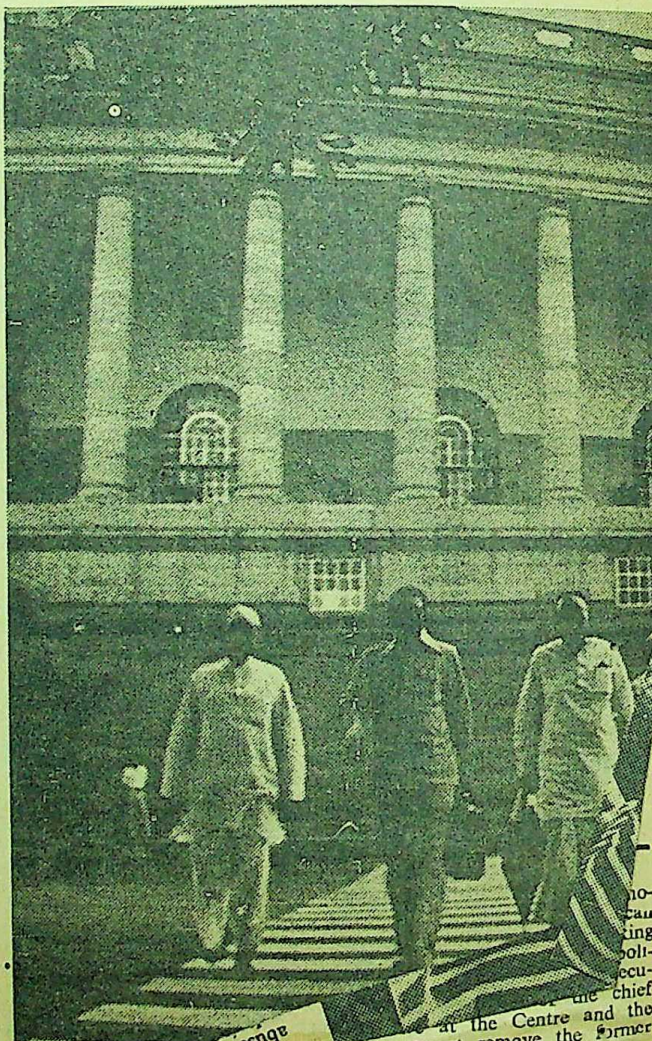
It must be realised that it is the chaotic situations in parliamentary democracies that lead to the birth of such dictators. The issue is, can we modify the democratic institutions in such a way as to give stability, avoid chances of chaos overtaking the system and provide for an executive which cannot be toppled by the game of defections and at the same time build enough checks and balances into it to prevent abuse of power and the emergence of authoritarianism?

Vasant Sathe's suggestion for direct elections only to the office of President of India suffers from a basic flaw. By limiting stability to the Centre, he creates doubts about his intentions. Such a stable Rashtrapati will be tempted to engineer instability in the states as of now. This can create an explosive situation and lead to authoritarianism. To control such situations the army will have to be used more often. This practice will give the army an impression of its indispensability which in turn can destabilise the presi-

dentship itself. So the factors of instability have to be eliminated both from the Centre and the states to enable a more stable polity.

The approach has to be whole and not partial or partisan. A directly elected Rashtrapati and Prantapati (now Governor) with a secure tenure will ensure a more stable federal system. There will have to be checks and balances against the development of authoritarian trends through the separation of the judiciary and the legislature from the executive and appropriate strengthening of the former two. These more stable chief executives, not subjected to day-to-day pressures from the elected representatives will not be in a position to interfere in the independence of the judiciary. Nor should the Centre be in a position to dismiss the chief executive of a state or transfer judges as though they were clerks.

The process of direct election of the chief executives of the Centre and the states will generate two healthy trends which can make democracy strong and



latter cannot remove the former from their posts.

How do we bring together the political forces of this country to initiate this change? Many leaders in the opposition and eminent jurists and thinkers support the idea of a presidential system. But the distrust between the ruling and opposition parties is total. The critical faculties of the Congress (I) seem to have given way to confusion, muddle-headedness and sycophancy. Who will arouse the patriotic fervour of the political parties to save themselves, democracy and the nation state?

Photo: Nitin Rai

is Majes  
governor

we must acknowledge that we have not been fully aware of governor. In our why anyone with a... accept the position of... with politician-g... their own more exciting... to continue in our ig... has opened our eyes... We were naïve... (occasionally the la... as representative of... nominal head of the s... known that he also w... conferred on him pow... is supposed to enjoy... the President of the re... by the advice of the c... Prime Minister? Certainly... accountable to Parliament.

no one else enjoys the... minister or appoint a... is entitled to exercise... the gentleman truly ex... he has no machinery wh... to him. Unless we ar... cannot yet take c... on his own "subjectiv... a recommendation to... Jammu and Kashmir... rule. There is provis... means that the gentl... is even more powerf... her state capitals. He c... he so chooses and K... Jammu Rao to convince... Jammu and Kashmir's... acted in any other wa... should be grateful... who could ever have c... Gandhi's reign when a... trated in her, that the... is and unique office in... often usurped power... usurpation exercise and... against the imperial a... need to do all that u... christen after its ar... of "unfettered righ... the famous (or is it... by the Soviet Union c... to it that once a so... whatever the people m... presiding over the... war with all kinds of d... me with or without su...

nce the focus atte... Not quite, th... of Indians who... Ram Lal's and... large the debate... proper role of the... debated before b... city. That makes... easy to elucidate... pt to do so, we h... mer governors, ju... her — the govern... ly represented, it... part. The gov... days — not even... offices.

Interviews by SU







# Governor's Gnawing — To Govern Or Not

Continued from Page 1

a report under Article 356 of the Constitution that affairs of the state could not be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The concept of consensus has disappeared from the Indian political scene, mainly because of the unscrupulous pursuit of power politics by the ruling party. There is no desire even to recognise a constitutional opposition and there is no genuine attempt to build a consensus. Take the appointment of the vice-president. On the question of consensus, Mrs Gandhi's stand was: "There can be consensus if the Opposition agrees with me."

The Prime Minister does not want any give and take that goes

towards building a consensus. Ultimately, she does what she wants. Otherwise, it is not difficult to find a consensus on matters of vital importance to the country. But the exclusive pursuit of power politics is coming in the way of evolving a democratic polity.

It is the PM's desire to concentrate power in the Centre that creates disunity. Each cultural group must have a feeling that it has a secure place in the country and that means decentralisation of power.

What has happened is that disunity has been created in the name of unity. Everyone — Mizos, Nagas, Muslims, Sikhs, Assamese — must have a sense of belonging and should not feel alienated.

## The office is brought into ridicule

—DHARMA VIRA

THIS business of head-counting is so dangerous; heads move so fast, backwards and forwards, that one doesn't know what to make of it. Therefore, I see no reason why the question of majority should not be tested on the floor of the legislature, rather than by counting heads. The President Giani Zail Singh, was right in not counting heads because it is not his duty to do so.

(Mr Dharma Vira was governor of West Bengal when he had to dismiss the ministry there.) I dismissed the government because it did not call the assembly in spite of repeatedly being asked to do so. What could I do when there was every danger of their making a monkey out of the Constitution?

(As luck would have it, Mr Dharma Vira encountered a similar situation in Karnataka.) At that time, Mr Veerendra Patil was the chief minister. I called him and told him: "You have lost the majority. What do you propose to do? I hope you won't force me to do in Karnataka what I did in West Bengal." Mr Patil agreed that he had lost the majority. And he resigned.

(The situation in Punjab was entirely different when Mr Dharma Vira went there as governor. The then chief minister, Mr Ram Kishan, had just stepped

down to make way for President's rule. This was imposed primarily to carve out a separate state of Haryana.) I had gone there for the second partitioning of Punjab.

Majority should be tested in the state assemblies and not in Raj Bhavans. It is the House that should decide the majority unless special circumstances like the one I faced in West Bengal warrant a different course of action. A law and order situation may arise if matters are delayed.

In Andhra Pradesh, of course, Mr Ram Lal does not appear to have carefully examined whether the chief minister had lost his majority or not and he acted in unnecessary haste.

As for splits occurring in political parties like the National Conference and the Telugu Desam, these are basically the result of personal ambitions and the support of those who want to exploit this ambition. This reflects the weakness of character of our people. We consider personal ambition to be above everything else.

Panditji had given a full statement on the manner and type of people who should be made governors. I can't improve on that. If our rulers had taken note of Panditji's statement, we would not have faced this situation and the office of the governor would not have been brought into ridicule as it is today.

## Victory for the system

—L.M. SINGHVI

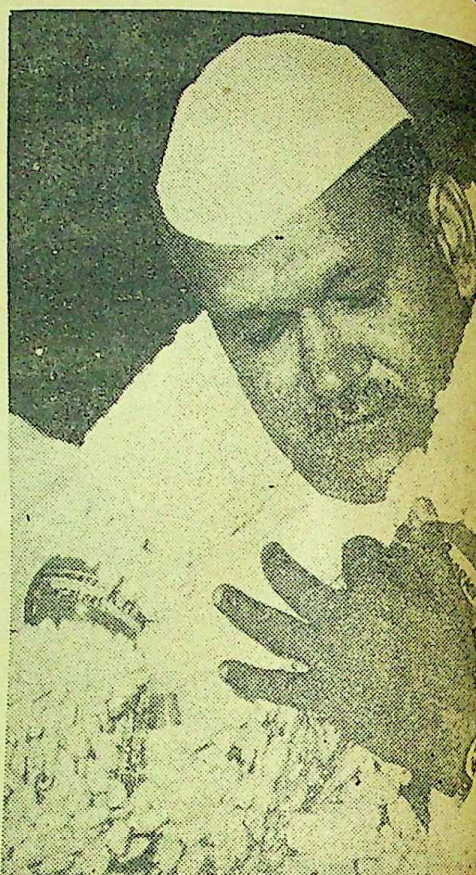
THE resignation of Mr Ram Lal and the statement of the Prime Minister with regard to the situation as it developed in Andhra Pradesh is a victory for the system and a testimony to the resilience of public opinion in India.

The three issues that arise from the former governor's resignation are: (1) That it is possible that the Central government has not directed him to act in the way he has done. (2) That the Central government has been insensitive and responsive to articulate public opinion on this issue

and (3) That the system is functioning satisfactorily.

Mr Ram Lal's error lies in dismissing the Rama Rao ministry without a thorough and proper verification on the basis of reliable and incontrovertible data.

Even though Mr Ram Lal might have taken the decision in all honesty and fairness, the impression created is that he had dismissed a chief minister who enjoyed the support of the majority of legislators and therefore there was little public confidence in the conclusion reached by the former governor. There was a lack of a method and manner



Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the new governor

and justice was not "seen to be done."

Mr Dharma Vira, as governor of West Bengal in 1968, had done the right thing in asking the then chief minister to prove his majority. Mr Jagmohan, governor of Jammu and Kashmir, had also done the right thing by confronting Dr Farooq Abdullah with the evidence available. In Andhra Pradesh, however, Mr Ram Lal has not followed the procedure and withdrawn his "pleasure" on not too substantive a ground.

While NTR's show of strength in the Rashtrapati Bhavan in

New Delhi is indeed a show of right and wrong atmosphere and politics today. The drama do not play their part to a script; it is acting.

Though the agent of the Centre the umpire in the process and he is concerned, equally guilty and can be found fault with we see is legislation not by conscience or convenience.

## He has a distinct, separate constitutional role

—F. S. NARAYAN

REGRETTABLY, during the past few years the role of governor has been more assimilated into that of a lieutenant-governor. In fact, the term lieutenant-governor, which is a euphemism, should never have been used for administrators of Union territories because administrators of Union territories like Delhi, Goa, etc. are the right arm of the Centre.

The governor has to follow the directions of the Central government but he has a distinct and separate constitutional role. He is a component of the legislature of each state and in determining whether X and Y has lost the majority in the state, he must

always go by the floor of the House.

Once he acts as a chief minister, Mr Ram Lal discharges his part of the legislative assembly, he expels and condemns and he

The present chief minister of Andhra Pradesh has a trial of course, by vote, and the better for the

When the vote is present chief minister, he would continue in office. Mr Ram Lal's

political instability in Bengal and Haryana brought to the fore the question of the rights and functions of a Governor in times of crisis, amounting to a breakdown of constitutional machinery of the State. Four constitutional experts give their views here.

They deal mainly with the question whether the Governor must remain a permanent head in times of crisis which is created by politicians, for example

UNWISE PRECEDENTS

ASOK CHANDA  
action of the Governor of West Bengal in requesting the Chief Minister to continue to enjoy the period to establish the majority in the House raised questions of propriety. In a parliamentary democracy, the State is above party and does not participate in the formulation of policy or action. He has how- ever the right to be consulted, to encourage and the "warn". This would be if there was a well- two or three-party sys- tem. Would it, however, be there are so many parties and such fre- quent confusions?

present confused polit- ics in most of the States is difficult to apply conventions and stand- ards of a parliamentary demo- cracy. In such democracies, the forum where the Government is of right and wrong there is no unseemly of members before the State. Bengal, the United Government had its weaknesses. Many that the frequent of law and order have induced the Gov- ernment to recommend the suspen- sion of the Government and the confidence. As far as President's rule is concerned, earlier. Maybe he ex- ceed political and eco- nomic stability would be restor-

Governor having made a request for convening the assembly "as soon as pos- sible" alternatives has he U.F. Government has (it)? This calls for of the Governor's powers. He ap- pointed the Chief Minister and the other Min- isters. The Chief Minister and other Ministers hold office during the Governor's pleasure. He is competent to dismiss the ministry but only when the Governor refuses to resign after the vote in the House. The Governor summons and sends the House and may before the expiry of five years (Article 174) these powers constitu- tionally hold, are to be held only on the request of the Chief Minister.

the daily pre- periodicals therefore per-



# OBLIGATIONS OF GOVERNORS IN TIMES OF STRESS

political instability in Bengal and Haryana brought to the fore the question of the rights and duties of a Governor in times of crisis, amounting to a breakdown of constitutional machinery in the State. Four constitutional experts give their views here.

They deal mainly with the question whether the Governor must remain a nominal head in times of crisis which is created by politicians, for example

by defection or unprincipled expansion of Cabinets, or bring into play his special constitutional powers.

Mr Asok Chanda holds that it would be best if the Governor of West Bengal recommended President's rule for a limited period to give the parties a chance to realign themselves. Mr Kumaramangalam argues

that the Governor is merely a constitutional head and must act on the advice of his Council of Ministers.

He can report to the Centre if the constitutional machinery fails but no such situation has arisen in West Bengal. Mr Santhanam believes that the Governor is the guardian of the constitutional but not of party loyalties and he can convene the Assembly if he finds the Ministry evading its constitutional responsibilities. Dr Singhvi argues that a Governor cannot resist or unduly delay a gubernatorial move to summon the Assembly.

## NO UNWISE PRECEDENTS

ASOK CHANDA

action of the Governor of West Bengal in requesting the Chief Minister to convene the Assembly within a period to establish the majority in the House is a precedent which should be avoided. The Governor has the right to raise questions of propriety. In a democracy, the State is above party and does not participate in the formulation of policy or action. He has the right to be consulted, to encourage and the "warn". This would be if there was a well-organized two or three-party system. Would it, however, be if there are so many parties and such frequent defections?

present confused political situation in most of the States is difficult to apply conventions and standards of a parliamentary democracy in such democracies.

the forum where the Government is concerned is no usefully members before the State.

Bengal, the United Government had its weaknesses.

Many that the frequent changes of law and order have induced the Government and the President's rule. Maybe he could political and economic stability would be restored.

Governor having made a request for convening the Assembly as soon as possible alternatives has he the U.F. Government has he?

This calls for the Governor's powers. He appoints the Chief Minister and, the other Ministers.

The Chief Minister and Ministers hold office during the Governor's pleasure. He is competent to dismiss the Ministers but only when they refuse to resign after a vote in the House.

Governor summons and sends the House and may dissolve it before the expiry of five years (Article 174).

These powers constitute the Governor's constitutional position. He is only on the request of the Chief Minister.

the West Bengal Assembly was prorogued on August 2 it had a majority in the Assembly. The prorogation was done by the Governor in exercise of his powers under Article 174(2) of the Constitution. Naturally the Governor acted on the advice of his Council of Ministers since in respect of any executive action the Governor has to act on the advice of his Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as head [Article 163(1)].

Under Article 174(1) the Governor is charged with the duty of summoning each House of legislature of a State at a time and place that he thinks fit. But this power is limited by the provision that six months shall not elapse between one session and another. Here again it is for the Council of Ministers to advise the Governor regarding the date of the next session provided always that the date suggested by the Council of Ministers must not be more than six months beyond the date of the last sitting of the Assembly.

After all if 50 Congress MPs defect tomorrow President Zakir Husain would have no right to insist on the convening of Parliament. This would still be entirely within the discretion of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers.

Anybody conversant with the provisions of the Constitution will appreciate that the only limitation on the right of the Chief Minister and his Council of Ministers to convene the Legislative Assembly on the day they wish is Article 164(1). The fact that 10 or 20 or even 50 MLAs meet the Governor and tell him that they no longer support the Government is irrelevant. In fact, constitutionally speaking the Governor has no right even to meet these gentlemen. So long as the provisions of Part Six of the Constitution (entitled States) is in operation, his duty is to act as constitutional head. The Constitution provides no scope for any political or executive activity by the Governor independent of actions on the advice of his Council of Ministers. Hence in terms of the Constitution the only course for Mr Dharma Vira when the defecting MLAs attempted to meet him should have been to tell them that they had no business to meet him and that they must address themselves

provisions of the Constitution. (4) It is of course within the scope of the duties of the Governor to send information to the Union Government about political and other developments in Bengal but this is normally and ordinarily done and may continue to be done. But so far as action is concerned the Governor can only act on the advice of his Council of Ministers until the Centre applies the emergency provisions. (5) Fixation of December 18 as the date for the convening of the State Legislature does not violate any provision of the Constitution.

## NO GUARDIAN OF PARTY LOYALTIES

By K. SANTHANAM

It is entirely wrong to think that it is the duty of the Governor to take note of an increase or decrease in party strength from day to day. Once he has formed the Ministry, it is for the State Assembly to decide whether or not it should continue in office. Neither law nor convention prohibits a Cabinet having only minority support from conducting the Government so long as the Assembly does not record its disapproval by a no-confidence motion or rejection of the Budget. All that the Constitution says is that the Council of Ministers should be responsible to the Assembly. It follows that the Governor need not be concerned with changes in the strength of the parties that may take place in the interval between two sessions of the Assembly.

In normal course a session of the Assembly has to be convened within six months of the end of the previous session. It can be convened earlier if it is so desired by the Government. I think the Governor will also be entitled to call a session if he thinks that the Ministry is trying to evade its responsibilities under the Constitution. To put the matter briefly, the Governor is the guardian of the Constitution but he is not the guardian of party loyalties.

I think the present practice of so-called leaders of splinter parties presenting their following to the Governor is altogether undignified. The tactics adopted by some Chief Ministers of maintaining their majority by means amounting to nepotism, such as appointing unnecessary Ministers or undue enlargement of the Cabinet, is undoubtedly

(Continued from previous col.)

may call for. Ordinarily, the executive power of the State is exercised by the Council of Ministers, who, euphemistically speaking, merely aid and advise the Governor. In normal circumstances the advice of the Council is binding on the Governor because the Council of Ministers, headed by the Chief Minister, commands a majority and is collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State. In consonance with the democratic theory, it is the leadership of the elected legislature which makes the Council of Ministers the apex repository of political power in the core of our parliamentary system.

When the Chief Minister and Council of Ministers cease to enjoy the support of a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, they lose their political and constitutional right to govern. If and when there is reason to believe that the Council of Ministers do not command the support of a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly, the Governor can, in his discretion, take steps to ascertain the position. Notwithstanding any difference of opinion with the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers, the Governor is entitled to summon the House to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit and he can treat this as a matter which he is required to act in discretion under the Constitution.

The Governor is a balancing act and an umpire in the constitutional process of Government and it is incumbent on him to ensure responsible government founded on legislative majority. A Chief Minister, by any procedure of pretation, resist or unduly delay a gubernatorial move to summon the House when it is desired to ascertain whether the Chief Minister and Council of Ministers enjoy confidence of the legislature. It is not gainsaid that the Governor is not bound by any constitutional advice of his Council of Ministers.

the daily press or in weekly and other periodicals is either sensational (and therefore perishable) or highly superficial and what it can do.

Apart from the more significant and long-term issues, there is the question

that so intensely it suits rather when facts are questionable is neither good journalism nor good citizenship.



# Char Maha

It is not only in order (reordering) the political states where they are a governors can play a pivotal role. Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir, most notably, Andhra Pradesh. However, there are shown on the political centre-stage on the stage at all but in where, through a government, which may indirectly if not directly, the central government, with by the same party as that the state, can advance interests at the cost of corruption. Maharashtra provides most telling example of now.

Earlier this year, the Maharashtra government superseded the old Bombay Municipal Corporation an autonomous, elective, amending the 1888 BMC Act, appointing an administrator. At the time, the then deputy chief minister, Mr Ramrao Adik, defended the action by saying that it had been not to extend the terms of civic bodies in the state as Nagpur, Solapur and Kolhapur.

## Autonomy Liquid

The liquidation of civic in various parts of the state is one limb of decentralisation authority. Now, the Maharashtra government appears to have sight on amputating and universities. Despite the suspension of their autonomy as a result of the growing politicalisation of public institutions, the universities structure and operation managed to retain a modicum of independence. But even this is a thing of the past if the Maharashtra Universities Bill 1984, affecting the state's seven non-agricultural universities and now before the legislature, becomes law.

Ostensibly, as with a encroaching legislation, the designed to tune up the functioning of universities. It is based on the recommendations of the joint board of chancellors (JBVC) which was set up in 1980 to inquire into the working of the universities and be reformed so as to end "misadministration", "streamline" procedure for affiliating colleges, make existing bodies like the and the executive council unwieldy. What the bill's purport would accomplish, in fact, is nothing less than to make the governor (who is constitutionally the chancellor of all the universities) the unchallengeable supreme authority in higher education. While his (and the chancellor's) powers would be enlarged, those of the senate would correspondingly diminished.

Bombay University's senate, "the principal authority for a series of estimates and budgetary decisions", with the power to make or repeal statutes, would be reduced to a "deliberative and consultative" body, concerned with the policy and well-being of the university. While the senate is at present empowered to approve the annual accounts, it would, under the bill's provision, be authorised to discuss them. Instead, it is the

place in the By now a writers have This sector doing as well There is single week country which educational, the daily press periodicals therefore per

present chief minister majority, he would continue in office. Mr Ram Lal's in

is a component of the legislature of each state and in determining whether X and Y has lost the majority in the state, he must

in the conclusion reached by the former governor. There was a lack of a method and manner

and responsive to articulation late public opinion on this issue have been topped or was done in Punjab and Sikkim.

this be taken without reference

solved and fresh elections will be

of the chief minister



# Chancellor As Supremo Maharashtra Universities In Peril

By A.S. ABRAHAM

IT is not only in ordering (rather, reordering) the political set-up in the states where they are assigned that governors can play a pivotal role—and destabilising so, as recent events in Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir and most notably, Andhra Pradesh have shown. However, there are areas not on the political centre-stage, not even on the stage at all but in the wings, where, through a governor, a state government, which may be acting, indirectly if not directly, on behalf of the central government, which is run by the same party as that in office in the state, can advance partisan interests at the cost of corroding vital institutions. Maharashtra provides the most telling example of this just now.

Earlier this year, the Maharashtra government superseded the century-old Bombay Municipal Corporation, an autonomous, elective body, by amending the 1888 BMC Act and appointing an administrator. At the time, the then deputy chief minister, Mr Ramrao Adik, defended the decision by saying that it had been decided not to extend the terms of some other civic bodies in the state as well, like Nagpur, Solapur and Kolhapur.

## Autonomy Liquidated

The liquidation of civic autonomy in various parts of the state removes one limb of decentralised, elective authority. Now, the Maharashtra government appears to have set its sight on amputating another: the universities. Despite the steady erosion of their autonomy as a result of the growing politicalisation of all public institutions, the universities, in structure and operation, have managed to retain a modicum of independence. But even this will be a thing of the past if the Maharashtra Universities Bill, 1984, affecting all the state's seven non-agricultural universities and now before the legislature, becomes law.

Ostensibly, as with all such encroaching legislation, the bill is designed to tone up the functioning of universities. It is based on the recommendations of the joint board of vice-chancellors (JBVC) which set up a committee in 1980 to inquire into how the working of the universities could be reorganised so as to end "financial misadministration", "streamline" the procedure for affiliating colleges, and make existing bodies like the senate and the executive council less unwieldy. What the bill's provision would accomplish, in fact, would be nothing less than to make the state governor (who is constitutionally also the chancellor of all the universities) the unchallengeable suprema of the whole higher education establishment. While his (and the vice-chancellor's) powers would be enlarged, those of the senate would be correspondingly diminished.

Bombay University's senate, now the principal authority for all financial estimates and budgetary appropriations, with the power to make, alter or repeal statutes, would be no more than a "deliberative and consultative body, concerned with the general policy and well-being of the university". While the senate is at present empowered to approve the university's annual accounts, it would, under the bill's provision, be authorised merely to discuss them. Instead, it is the execu-

tive council, university's chief implementing body, that would not merely consider the annual accounts and the audit report on them but also "pass such resolutions thereon as it thinks fit". More ominously, for the first time, the audited accounts would have to be approved by the state legislature. Against, the senate now has the power to "make, amend or repeal statutes" and to "consider and refer back, but not amend, ordinances". Under the new bill, it would be stripped of these powers.

Further misgivings over the centralising and potentially authoritarian thrust of the measure are occasioned by the diminution in the size of the senate and the executive council as well as by the manner of their constitution. The senate, now some 200-strong, would have only about half as many members, while the present 21-member executive council would have six fewer representatives. The apparent justification for this reduction is that both bodies are too "unwieldy" and costly. But the real reason for tampering with them is revealed in the replacement of the elective principle by which they are at present constituted by the methods of nomination, seniority and rotation.

Elections, too, are ruled out because of expenditure they entail and because they have "encouraged the formation of pressure groups in these authorities which are found to be interfering in the administration of the universities". Even if this is true to some extent, the challenge is to clean up the elective process through appropriately fool-proof procedures. In a community as well as small, self-contained and rich in expertise as a university, this is hardly an impossible task.

## Shrunken Council

Where the existing senate has 25 graduate-members, the proposed one would exclude past alumni altogether. What is worse, where now 155 teacher-members are elected, only nine would find room in the senate and they would be chosen according to seniority and by rotation from among those who have at least ten years of graduate-level and post-graduate teaching experience. Of the 21 members in the present executive council, 16 are elected. But of the 15 members in the proposed shrunken council, only eight would be elected. It would have only one teacher and one principal as members, as against two each in both categories at present. There would be only four student-members, all chosen by the vice-chancellor. The drift of these changes is transparently clear with a smaller senate and executive council whose membership is largely nominated as well as rotated, and with groups like teachers, principals and past and present students, considered by the government to be especially prone to discontent, eliminated or reduced to near-impotence on these crucial bodies, the government, acting through the chancellor whose instrument, in turn, will be the vice-chancellor, will be able to do more or less what it likes with the universities.

The state government would be empowered to lay down the first statutes and to alter them up to three years. It would be able, through a notification in the official gazette, to create a new university. It could also

reduce or extend a university's area of jurisdiction at will. It could fix the fees, make appointments and create such bodies as it likes in new universities. It would have the power to transfer or dismiss employees, transfer a university's assets and provide for any other matter it "may deem fit"—all these proposals for the "delegation of legislative powers", it says matter-of-factly, "are of a normal character", even if it were to act benevolently in these matters (which would be to take a charitable view) the point is that universities should not have to exist on sufferance.

Under the amendment to Section 43 (4 A) of the Bombay University Act, 1974, the state government assumed the power to open and affiliate new colleges where, "in exceptional circumstances", such institutions were felt to be necessary. Hitherto, only the universities had the right to affiliate new colleges. How the state government can misuse the authority it has given itself was shown by the manner in which it sanctioned a rash of medical and engineering colleges although they did not have the most elementary facilities. A protracted strike by enraged medical students was one result. Declining professional standards and the devaluation of certification must inevitably be another. The governor-cum-chancellor, through whom the state government would use its panoply of fresh powers, would no longer be merely the titular head of a university. The vice-chancellor would be appointed, and the terms and conditions of his appointment decided, by the chancellor. For the first time, it would be stipulated that "the vice-chancellor shall hold office during the pleasure of the chancellor" and that "it shall be lawful for the chancellor to give in the interest of the university such directives to the vice-chancellor, as he deems fit and the vice-chancellor shall comply with the directives". The pro-vice-chancellor would also hold office during the chancellor's pleasure. At present, the executive council of each university chooses the registrar. The bill proposes that the chancellor be given this power in consultation with the Maharashtra Public Service Commission. While the executive council now appoints the finance officer, the state government would henceforth do so. Nor would this officer be answerable any longer to the registrar; he would report directly to the vice-chancellor.

## Decentralisation

No one would deny that universities throughout the country, like municipal corporations and smaller local bodies, have become bureaucratic, mismanaged and often corrupt institutions. But state government have not better record in these matters. Nor are central establishments such a paragon of efficiency and integrity. The answer is not to go on whittling down the authority of every tier of independent self-governance by centralising power and control in fewer and fewer hands. The answer lies, rather, in expanding autonomy, decentralisation and, above all, accountability through rigorous and rigorously applied procedures. It is, of course, a tall order. But the price of not trying to enforce exacting standards is bound to be much higher than that of striving hard to measure up to them.

ia  
ge

It is rarely equipped to and it is even onents who other educa- is the fresher Having just r a university lly has some evisits his old ases it is the ing To expect r him is to he is capable the problem, h is no less

rganisations, by factions. It es get planted one faction is the other is l. There have in-order to als or groups e been publi- appens is dif- happens of the press to ion and correct of matters be lost sight of. e most people is and corrup- individual is e is treated in dual has no e. Others will otet and his the most part ice is a real he press does ured.

## Material

cannot be said ilarly at the vel. Students ming together ything unfair ey capable of lo so. What is hly combust- nor thing can ighest spark fact this hap-

an additional is cast upon iversities and eports create a out of hand eful. They e most carefully. ver become the orking against

place in the country in recent decades. By now a band of talented financial writers have come up in the profession. This sector of Indian journalism is doing as well as it could.

There is, on the other hand, not a single weekly or fortnightly in the country which deals with matters educational. What gets mentioned in the daily press or in weekly and other periodicals is either sensational (and therefore perishable) or highly superfi-

cast its net wider and look into decisions which affect no less 130 million students in the country? This is the number of students at various levels. Not all parents are educated but surely they are interested (in potential terms) in wanting to understand something about what education is doing and what it can do.

Apart from the more significant and long-term issues, there is the question

the universities. Wherever there is callousness and corruption, it must be exposed. But to allege things for which there is little or insufficient evidence is to create a situation where the young get unnecessarily incensed. The state of alienation is already so widespread that to intensify it still farther when facts are questionable is neither good journalism nor good citizenship.



# Tasks Universities Face

## Blanket Criticism Unjustified

By DHARMA KUMAR

EVERY time one opens a newspaper, there is a good chance of reading a denunciation of Indian universities. For instance, "and so far as higher education is concerned the universities are very poor places for any worthwhile education. The teachers, the students, the non-teaching staff are on strike by turn most of the time round the year." (Ram Swarup in *The Times of India*, January 29, 1984).

Blanket criticism of this kind is ill-informed and dangerous. It is simply not true that most universities are on strike most of the year. Undoubtedly in parts of all our universities very poor education is given, and some universities are almost entirely bad. But a rather large number of students do get a reasonable education, and a large number of teachers produce first-rate work.

### Mindless Hostility

Constant attacks on all universities prejudice the general public and affect public policy towards universities, besides disheartening university teachers and students. In place of mindless hostility, one requires a balanced appraisal of the shortcomings of Indian universities, the reason for them and possible remedies. And one also needs to look at their achievements—one can learn from success as much as from failure.

There are more than 120 universities in India, ranging from the large old universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, with enormous student bodies, to the central university at Hyderabad with 529 students in 1981-82, through small, new and generally poor universities, to rich specialist institutions. Naturally they face an enormous range of problems, with very different resources.

How are these universities, with all their diversities, to be judged? It is common for the middle-aged to compare universities of today with those of the past. It is certainly true that there are far more strikes in universities today than before independence just as there are far more strikes in offices and factories. This does not mean that it is not a serious problem, but it is not the main problem.

If universities are in fact incompetent at providing education then it would not matter so much if they were often on strike. The middle-aged often assert that the quality of education has gone down. I suspect this is an optical illusion, of distance in time lending enchantment to the past.

The truth is that education in British India was, by and large, very poor, especially at the post-graduate level. In most subjects the bright student had very little chance of knowing the latest advances in his subject, or meeting scholars engaged in original thought or genuine research. There were doubtless exceptions—a few great historians such as Jadunath Sarkar, or indologists, or scientists such as C.V. Raman—but it seems to me that the numbers of first-rate scholars during

original work is larger now, certainly absolutely and perhaps even proportionately. In certain subjects among the older university discipline the level of scholarship may actually have declined. But in most subjects a good student has a much better chance of approaching the frontiers of knowledge in India now, and this is so despite the fact that the frontiers of knowledge are advancing so much more rapidly.

The most important difficulty that Indian universities face today is that a plethora of self-contradictory demands are made on them.

On the one hand, universities are expected to be centres of excellence, contributing not only to the preservation and dissemination of existing knowledge, but also to the advancing of this knowledge. On the other, they are burdened with cumbersome bureaucratic procedures by people who have never done any teaching or research, and with interference in admissions and appointments.

Again, universities are expected to display "social commitment" by running programmes on adult literacy and family planning and by conducting social service. All these may be laudable aims in themselves. But we expect the same institution to performing all these functions is to make sure that it will collapse.

### Advance Study Centres

Thus the U.G.C. set up the scheme of centres of advanced study in the early sixties. The original aim of these centres was to develop excellence in teaching and research so that students wishing to pursue these subjects at a very advanced level could do so with the country. Many university teachers who are dedicated to the ideal of establishing the roots of their disciplines in this country worked hard to improve standards of teaching. They developed research programmes which were not imitative of the research done in prestigious universities abroad but were rooted in the Indian social and intellectual context.

In the last 15 years some branches of social sciences and natural sciences have become fairly well established and their contribution to teaching and research is recognised in major parts of the world.

It is not true any more that books are written only when teachers are on visiting assignments abroad. Moreover, improvement in standards has been brought about with a fraction of the resources that any good university in a western country has at its disposal, whether in terms of libraries, computers, laboratory equipment. Secretarial and research is, of course, non-existent here.

Instead of nurturing those centres of advanced study which have succeeded in improving research and teaching, and increasing the resources available to them, the UGC introduced another criterion for judging them. The centres should, the UGC said, also show "social commitment". This innocent phrase covering a whole worldview that has the potential of strangulating intellectual growth in universities. One has only to recall days when schools

were forced to display "social commitment" by teaching the five-point programme of Sanjay Gandhi!

The task of universities is to engage in the pursuit of truth, to generate a critical attitude and to stand against the populist pressures of the times. The argument is often heard that universities are elitist and that in a poor country we cannot fritter away resources on "academic" subjects which do not have direct relevance to our social needs. Many of those who most loudly characterise universities as elitist institutions have never had to consider the possibility that their children will have to study only in India. The alternative then to having good universities in the country is to send our children for higher education abroad, and this is a much more elitist solution. Today a student can get the best university education in India for Rs 25 a month, a fee well within the range of the lower middle classes.

Of course, India cannot afford to spend as much on universities as the United States. Indeed, one may well argue that the government should spend less on universities and more on schools. But that is all the more reason for getting the best value for money, and that means concentrating funds on institutions capable of making use of them.

One must be realistic. Populist pressures and genuine political needs both demand a certain regional spread in education. But it is a question of balance—one can try to make sure that somewhere in the country there are first-class facilities in any major discipline, and that a bright student from any part of the country can get adequate funds to go to the best places. The present UGC scales of grants to Ph.D. students are ridiculously low. Universities have indeed got used to a culture of poverty. Teachers grumble but do very little to increase the resources available to them. They are worried only about their own salaries. They could, for a start, take a more intelligent interest in university budgets.

### Culture Of Poverty

And universities should work harder to raise funds on their own, instead of relying solely on government.

Finally, universities should constantly engage in a critical review of their own performance. We need to review the contents of undergraduate education, pedagogic methods and the quality of research. These attempts are being carried out in small groups but the effort is neither sustained nor sufficiently widespread.

Similarly, we need to give serious thought to the manner in which we can make higher education accessible to good students in all walks of life. The need is not for bureaucratic solutions, such as making an M. Phil. degree the minimum requirement for teachers regardless of the quality of the M. Phil. but to encourage competence, excellence, and the generation of a critical awareness in university. In evaluating excellence, the focus has to shift from Cambridge, Oxford or Harvard, to those universities in India where good work is being done and needs to be encouraged.

*This article by Prof Dharma Kumar of the Delhi School of Economics is the first of a series on the challenges facing our universities.*



# The Barbarians

By ALOK RAI

and chairs provided! All this could be quite comical of it wasn't also deeply sad, because crushed under the weight of incompetence and institutional stupidity are people who could have done more, should have been allowed to do more, than merely to sink into acidity and despair and Byzantine intrigue.

It is not surprising that, over the years, through attrition and worse, people are crushed and broken down. The wonder is that occasionally, despite everything they managed to rise above the crippling conditions in which they are forced to live. Some years ago, when the university was saddled with an unusually despicable vice-chancellor, the teachers rose almost to a man against the quantum increase in the standard forms of degeneracy—cheating in examinations, playing faction politics with student-pawns. It was heroic chapter, and the story has been told, then as well as later.

However, its ironic climax will bear repetition. One of the several hundred students who were caught cheating was the son of a Congress (I) minister. He was exculpated by the chancellor, but the teachers took their own chancellor to court. The high court found that the chancellor had acted

that the chancellor had indeed acted wrongly, and suggested that he should take corrective action. He did not. A minor matter, relatively speaking—but symptomatic of the general climate which, over time, breaks and demoralises individuals.

By virtue of the fact that it controls the purse-strings, the state government has a decisive say in the affairs of the university—and it would be difficult to

and a single instance in which official intervention has been other than deleterious. For some years now, it has been known that the two-year pass degree which Allahabad (like other J.P. universities) awards, has ceased to be legal tender in the academic marketplace. Bizarre as it may seem the change-over to a three-year honours-and-pass system, in line with the rest of the country, does not appear to have a high priority in the minds of

Does all this matter? After all, doesn't everybody know that the universities are only fulfilling a babysitting function and that the real education happens elsewhere, in the pressure chambers, the glamour institutes. The universities only serve to keep adolescents off the streets.

way from the employment exchanges. That is why the universities are not closed down summarily: they are merely helped to self-destruction through a policy of controlled neglect. Meanwhile, waiting for the end, what shall we do? Terrify ourselves with the prospect of the advent of Mr Amrik Singh with his industrial work-forms—as if we hadn't already seen enough of UGC-coerced "research"? Alternatively, we might bemoan the state of our society and our culture, consoling ourselves that the day there is a real, felt need for trained minds, etc., that ideal university would be created. Meanwhile, we might observe how the delicate processes of social equilibration and compensation, sometimes called dialectic, have evolved a perfect instrument for producing what this society needs—barbarians, babus, gangsters, hacks—choking on their own bile...

It is not an attractive set of options.

---

*This article by Mr Atok Rai, reader in University of Allahabad, is third in the series on the state of our universities.*



Gover  
Rights

THE editorial in the *Times* on August 1, and Mr. Malhotra's signed article the following day have examined the chain of responsibility in the case of the 1987 carnage in Srinagar, not in fragments but in its entirety, and have apportioned responsibility for wrong doing fairly and objectively. No high functionary of any branch of government has come out well; and the whole has been amplified much of the evil and the damage that have come to disfigure the face of our essentially sound political system.

defined research projects  
think that the implications  
policy have been seri-  
dered.

the UGC has introduced a system of working of our essentially social between science departments of social departments of social humanities. Unlike the science departments have assured of assistance under a scheme with nomenclature. One of the UGC accepts, unconsciously, an ideology which places high technocrats and managers while discouraging the critical scholarship. This fatal consequences for the many learnt at one time learning in the country.

Research fellowships awarded the governor at the case of P. Ghosh, a former chief minister of West Bengal, who was broken away from the united front government in November that 17 months ago. He was in a position to research on a full-time basis from the usual problems of his ministry. At Ajay Mukherjee's ministry, the UGC has communicated the aside normal selection procedure on November 6, and university departments are to have the assembly summons of students. This is best as possible so that his major work in the national test may be tested.

introduced this year. Most  
UPSC examination: **Priority Issues**

## New Trend

On the assumption that there was willing to have procedures for research strengthening of the assembly on December 21, 1990. The governor considered six research can be eliminated too long and insisted that, unfortunately, no one in the United States meet not later than November 1, 1990. On Mukherjee's refusal, who excell in research, the governor dismissed the ministers on the basis of general knowledge. On November 21, and installed a specialised knowledge. Ministry, which was willing to face a process in which a study at an early date. develop a blindness to not noteworthy that the governor for long periods of time anxious to have the issue kind of student who firmly settled in the assembly with general knowledge quickly a fortnight and did not wish to survive the lonely the question in the

Mysterious Process

Creativity in research is a tedious process. I am afraid research is to be done as possible to eliminate uncertainty regarding the possibilities of a research strategy. Even with innovative counsel, getting a student to research in some risky ventures; we have some suspicion of departments and institutes where no research is done-outs are reported.

The process of centralisation and standardisation of work encourages students to meet the criteria of their subjects in advanced departments and mediocrity. Conversely, in an attempt to raise standards in universities where there are libraries, laboratories and teachers actively engaged in research, a committee of experts set up by the President to study and formulate conventions governing the role of professors under the Constitution members of the committee are of the committee of the backgrounds and wide range, and ironically in the present case, Bhagwan Sahasra, Governor of J and K was chairman of the committee. The report the committee submitted

that where the government is not in a position to get the majority support he should not be a chief minister to face the responsibility within the shortest possible time. If the governor would be in a position to initiate steps to form an alternative ministry. A chief minister should test his strength on the floor of the assembly. It will be interpreted as a proof of his no longer being the confidence of the legislature. It is also deprecated. Trading of legislators is indeed have other people speak about

They said this being the situation the army could not hold the country. On the contrary a disciplined army would soon fall leading to disintegration. "It is the national will to together that kept India United together to keep the country together the future", they said and applause.



# Governor's Role In Crisis Rights And Wrongs In Kashmir

By L.P. SINGH

rs Role

reference to Mr August 24), com-  
icle, published by

THE editorial in the *Times Of India* on August 1, and Mr Inder Jhalhota's signed article the following day have examined the chain of events in Srinagar, not in fragments but in its entirety, and have apportioned responsibility for wrong doing fairly and objectively. No high functionary of any branch of government has been let out well; and the whole affair has been simplified much of the evil and ugliness that have come to disfigure the working of our essentially sound constitutional system.

The constitutional power of the Governor to "withdraw his pleasure" from a council of ministers at any time is not in doubt but there is the question of constitutional propriety, and political wisdom—and of decency in the head of state's dealings with the government, installed in office on the basis of people's mandate. One must recapitulate the main facts of the memorable past case of the dismissal of a ministry: Dharma Vira's dismissal of Ajoy Mukherjee's ministry in the late sixties (the recent Sikkim will go down in constitutional history only as a minor "domestic" farce). In the case of P. V. Ghosh, a former chief minister, dismissed the governor at the beginning of November that 17 members broken away from the united front to that he was in a position to replace Ajoy Mukherjee ministry. The UGC in the selection process on November 6, and asked departments to have the assembly summoned. This is best done as possible so that his majority test can be tested.

## Majority Issues

Mr Mukherjee was willing to have a research study of the assembly on December 2, and thus the governor considered six weeks too long and insisted that it meet not later than November 10. On Mukherjee's refusal, the governor dismissed the ministry on November 21, and installed a new ministry, which was willing to face the test at an early date.

It is noteworthy that the government was anxious to have the issue of student settlement in the assembly within a fortnight and did not wish to be the question in the Rajya Sabha. And yet his action came in the face of intensive public criticism.

Within the central government, in some quarters, uneasiness and doubt about the wisdom and soundness of the governor's action, was not about its constitutional propriety, later confirmed by the high

conference of presiding officers of the state legislatures held in 1968 recommended that if a majority of members of an assembly wanted to move a vote of no confidence in the ministry, the assembly should be summoned within 15 days. The question was fully discussed by a committee of five members set up by the President to study and formulate norms governing the role of the members of the committee had backgrounds and wide experience, and ironically in the context of the present case, Bhagwan Sahay, governor of J and K was chairman of the committee.

The report the committee concluded that where the "governor is the majority support he should not initiate steps to form an alternative ministry. A chief minister's strength on the floor will be interpreted as proof of his no longer confidence of the legislature also deprecated the practice of legislators speaking about con-

stitutional practices and procedures).

The governor's committee did not, and constitutionally could not, lay down any rigid guidelines: circumstances differ and a governor has to act according to his own judgement. But if he chooses to decide the question of majority without affording the chief minister opportunity to test his strength on the floor of the assembly, he exposes himself to public criticism, and even to a charge of partiality.

The procedure recommended by the governor's committee was a sound one, and best designed to preserve a governor's image of impartiality. On four occasions—one each in Assam and Meghalaya and twice in Nagaland—I followed that procedure in 1979-80, leading in each case to a change of minister: by resignation of the ministry just before the sitting of the assembly in two cases, by resignation after a no-confidence motion had been moved in the third case, and by being voted out in the fourth.

For healthy functioning of parliamentary democracy, it is essential that the governor should not only function with meticulous fairness and demonstrable impartiality but should be seen to be so functioning; and this is even more essential in a quasi-federal system like ours.

The governor must be seen as a servant of the Constitution, bound only by the oath of his office which requires him to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law." Any suspicion that he functions as an instrument of the central government can only do damage to our constitutional system.

Farooq Abdullah, far from being unwilling to face the assembly, had specifically asked for trial of strength on the floor of the house. If the reason for dismissing his ministry was the loss of his majority, as was given out, it is difficult to understand why the governor did not proceed to summon the assembly to meet within a few days. Is it that he was pressed and persuaded by Abdullah's opponents to take instant action, cutting out the normal procedure even though this could well have led to Abdullah being voted out? Could it be that, apart from the opportunity associated with craving for power, G.M. Shah and his supporters were anxious to avoid the opportunity for the issue of a whip by the recognised National Conference party in the assembly, directing all its members to vote in a particular manner?

The disregard of a whip expressly carries disqualification under the law, and it is arguable that even members of a splintered group cannot escape disqualification under this provision.

## Disqualification

As things developed reference on the question of disqualification had been made to the high court before the assembly met and the question of issuing a whip could arise. Not knowing all the considerations that determined the approach of the splintered group or of the governor one can only speculate whether, there was a cold calculation of the legal implications of attempting to oust Abdullah through a vote of no-confidence.

What constitutes defection can be a complex matter and the validity of the J and K law on the subject is to be decided by the Supreme Court. However, it does not appear that the members who broke away from the main body of the National Conference on July 2, had earlier given any indication of differences with Abdullah on policy or administration; and the fact that they were all appointed ministers straightaway looks more like the usual lure of office influencing action. Only Shah's unhappiness with Abdullah had been publicly known right from the time Abdullah had succeeded his father.

The sad story did not end with the

bound to act on the advice of a chief minister, who the governor thought had lost his majority.

If the report is correct, there was impropriety in the procedure, for the issue could conceivably come up before the high court. There is an arrangement for a governor seeking the advice of the attorney-general, through the President's secretariat, when he needs independent professional advice on a constitutional matter. It is not permissible to seek such advice from a serving judge.

Like the governor in certain constitutional matters, the speaker has to function as an umpire within the legislature; his impartiality and wise conduct of proceedings are of crucial importance to the functioning of our system. Once the constitutional condition of 14 days' notice has been satisfied, he cannot stand in the way of a resolution for his removal from office being moved and considered, and he cannot preside while the resolution is being considered.

Wali Mohammad Ittoo, it appears, tried to prevent a resolution for his removal being moved and considered, and proceeded to adjourn the house. But apart from this act of impropriety, he arrogated to himself the powers of the chief justice to declare the members of the splintered group as disqualified to continue as members of the assembly. It was a presumptuous, and a futile act.

## Unseemly

What followed was incredibly unseemly. Ittoo could have been allowed to adjourn the assembly peacefully and depart, without being subjected to rough handling. Even if the matter was left to rest with the adjournment, for the time being, nothing would have been lost. The Shah ministry, not having been allowed by the speaker to show the extent of his support, could continue in office: the issue of disqualification could be taken to the Supreme Court for final decision, and the interrupted move for the removal of the speaker could be later resumed and taken to an appropriate conclusion in the seemly as well as a legally correct manner.

The leaders of the political parties and faction acted with passion and impatience, not with a sense of responsibility, keeping in view the long-term interest of our democratic institutions. And as mentioned earlier, functions which properly belonged to one organ of government were assumed by another. Incidentally, two members are reported to have been detained while on their way to the assembly, which would normally be regarded as a serious matter.

From all this messy business have come out the certainty of prolonged litigation with unpredictable results and a ministry formed by a breakaway group of a dozen or so, dependent on the support, without participation in government, of the Congress party with more than double its strength. Constitutional and administrative accountability and power stand separated from political power, and such an arrangement does not endure or work.

The Hazarika ministry in Assam provides an example. It was short-lived and had an ignominious end; and it left behind a trail of disorder, bordering on chaos.

I have confined my comments to constitutional aspects of the happenings and to questions of propriety. My personal knowledge of J and K affairs having ended some 14 years ago, I have refrained from expressing any views on the political issues, even though they are probably at the root of the recent development. I would, however, make one general observation. Even during the sixties when the government was in the hands of

to me the state-  
out of touch with  
r about 14 years.  
is that my personal  
led some 14 years  
kept in touch with  
all these years, by  
including talks with  
ld very responsible  
K in recent years,  
that even though I  
hmir affairs, at the  
over six years—  
of internal turmoil,  
nd war—I should,  
if first hand  
ent political acti-  
expressing publicly

no reason why I  
my views on certain  
e reasons publicly  
ot on any occult  
agmohan has only  
se acts, involved  
nal ethics, norms  
background and  
injoin silence, but  
re responsibility to  
re the public.  
ues to be my view  
ion of sound prin-  
ples of parliamen-  
which the council  
sponsible to the  
as laid down in  
Constitution, and  
revision in the J &  
her, there was lack  
nd sensitivity with  
r, a Presidential  
ment's) appoint-  
of federal set-up,  
such as those that  
July 2. I think that  
handled, has been  
tional interests.

to say that my  
omendations of  
imtee was selec-  
id that the "com-  
d constitutionally  
rigid guidelines;  
and a governor  
to his own judge-  
proceeded to men-  
quences if a chief  
forded an oppor-  
th on the floor of

iks that when the  
eason to come to  
he chief minister

RENA

RS 2.5 c

missioned in 19

Uranium-235

only reactor

front the sou

On the reser

target by 15 pe

Hyderabad ex

The nuclea

operating well

tenance, while

been shut dow

target in two of

which "exceed

The Tufcoo

capacity factor

Kota reactor

capacity factor

while the sec

worked a little

The Tarapur

capacity.

worked 72.8

factor of 93 per

reactor achieve

The sources

er sta

form

Lanka



Sir.—Mr Jagmohan has rightly pointed out that a governor cannot ignore the political and administrative environment of the state while taking a decision. In a sensitive state like Jammu and Kashmir the question of such an environment becomes all the more relevant and crucial. In view of the overwhelming and incontrovertible evidence before the governor he would not be upholding the Constitution if he had allowed the minority government of Dr Abdullah to continue. By no means can we draw a parallel between the action of Mr Jagmohan and that of Mr Ram Lal. The success of Mr Shah on the floor of the house vindicates the judiciousness of Mr Jagmohan. Evidently, testing the strength on the floor of the house would have been an exercise in futility for Dr Abdullah and the governor was well advised to ignore the advice of the former. It is ridiculous and childish to allege that Mr Jagmohan engineered defections in Jammu and Kashmir.

V S BIST

## III

Sir.—This refers to Mr L. P. Singh's article on governor's role and the subsequent reply by Mr Jagmohan. Mr Singh deserves kudos for kindling our sense of perception about the governor's role specially when it has touched an all-time low. However, Mr Singh has made some factual mistakes. He has made two charges against Mr Ito, the then speaker. One he prevented a resolution for his removal. Two, he arrogated to himself the powers of the chief justice by disqualifying the members of the splinter group. These charges against the speaker cannot be justified if one goes through the proceedings of the assembly on August 1.

Mr Jagmohan has been selective in putting across his case by calling into question the recommendations of the governors' committee on two counts. He says that first, it is blind to the political and administrative environment and second, it does not have any validity in law and the Constitution. With regard to the political and administrative environment, Mr Jagmohan has referred to Punjab and Assam. In my view the conditions in Kashmir under Dr Abdullah do not compare with those in the two states. If the validity in law and the Constitution is so dear to Mr Jagmohan why did he not heed the advice of the former chief minister which is binding on the governor under Article 35 (2) of the Jammu and Kashmir constitution whether he has majority or not.

ASIF KAMAL

New Delhi.

1 Sir.—I have carefully read Mr  
/ Jagmohan's letter and Mr L.P. Singh's  
1 rejoinder published by you on August  
- 24 and 27 respectively.

24 and 27 respectively.

Mr L.P. Singh has more than adequately answered all the points raised by Mr Jagmohan. However, I would like to ask a few questions. First, if the black picture of the situation\* in Kashmir were correct and not a propaganda stunt to malign a popular leader who had dared to oppose the rulers in Delhi, why did the governor dismiss Dr Abdullah and have him arrested, as indeed had once happened in the case of Sheikh Abdullah? Secondly, even if constitutionally permissible, is it ethically defensible to instal a handful of self-seeking defectors in power with the support of a minority party who will now be enabled to do back-seat driving? Such action may allow the retention of a facade of democracy but it certainly kills its spirit. Wouldn't imposition of governor's rule have been a better alternative than according a stamp of approval to a blatantly unethical and immoral manipulation? Thirdly, how far is it justified to quote extracts from Mr B.K. Nehru's letter to Dr Farooq Abdullah, which must obviously be a confidential or secret document? Doesn't this constitute a violation of the Official Secrets Act or the oath of office which Mr Jagmohan must have taken while being sworn in as governor? Lastly, if through another change in alignments, Dr Farooq Abdullah comes back as chief minister can Mr Jagmohan still continue as governor and be expected to act impartially after his public display and pronouncement of animus towards the former?

Mr Jagmohan has tried to highlight that on his own admission, Mr L.P. Singh has been out of touch with Kashmir for 14 years. Mr L.P. Singh has rightly corrected him by pointing out that he had not been in touch with Kashmir in any official capacity for 14 years but he had kept himself posted with developments there and that too from individuals in responsible positions, who were intimately connected with those developments. Although I agree with the views of Mr L.P. Singh, I feel that he is perhaps out of touch with the new culture that has become so dominant in the governance of our country. He belongs to a generation of civil servants who have scrupulously and fearlessly upheld high values with great competence and marked devotion. We now live in an era of committed civil servants who rise to meteoric heights on the basis of their political connections and proven personal loyalties, and who are ever willing to prove that they are more loyal than the king. And the down-trodden millions who constitute the "subjects" of India are only expected to say three cheers for Mr Jagmohan, Mr A.P. Sharma and Mr Ram Lal, hip hip huray!

Lt. Gen. S.K. SINHA  
(Retd.)

Patna.

**D**URING the last communal riots in city have become a regular political parties blame one another for these riots, which is hardly fair. But an important question today is whether such riots are usually spontaneous bursts or can they be deliberately organised and ignited.

Unfortunately, they can be "made to order" riots of number. The vast majority of communal riots in India have been the result of a general breakdown of the law and order machinery against goondas and elements. Some powerful groups have now found that communitarianism is an excellent means of increasing their muscle and their banks, and in this way endeavouring to extract concessions from governments and chief ministers.

This was shown in Bombay recently by well-known smugglers and racketeers like Shiv Sena, detained in communal riots, were released, presumably as part of an overall political deal.

To start a communal necessary that even a sma Hindus and Muslims sh fight each other. It is eno 1,000 is willing to indulg Bombay this number wo 8,000, in Hyderabad it m 3,000, in cities like A Moradabad the number v 400 or so. These number to start a vicious commu may leave a trail of sev hospitals full of wo through the imposition totally disrupt ind commerce.

Goondas' Allegiance

If political leaders of a  
mand the allegiance of th  
(and many chief minist  
ministers, leaders of op  
big bosses of political pa  
such as following), and if  
ing to spend a few m  
(chicken feed for most o  
can be instigated.

Our cities are full of alleys, bye-lanes where riot is visible. In these lanes Hindus and Muslims have been stabbed by paid goondas who follow. The stabbed will be homes crying and a full-on. Before the police is goondas can implement riot-scheme, namely, to loot from shops. They can always operations after two or three para-military forces are sent to strengthen. But the manipulators have achieved their objective.

All this means that together we are at the mercy of people in their band of goondas. Evidently, the other side is also full of optimism that 998 out of 1,000 Hindus and Muslims do not want to kill each other. After all, the Hindus and Muslims live together without there being any apparent causes of big riots. If one of one community brings a male of another community, it is a case of different communities; religious practices—each other; religious practices—were the result should be in a state of peace. Hundreds of such incidents place without any escape notes.

If there is a communist city in India the CRPF, other army battalions within 24 hours. The trouble-makers are in the police. It just minister, totally free bias, to get a few hundred small cities and a few towns in Hyderabad or Bombay, rounded up and



# Organising Of Communal Riots

By N.S. SAKSENA

**D**URING the last six years communal riots in Hyderabad city have become a regular feature. All political parties blame one another for these riots, which is hardly surprising. But an important question that faces us today is whether such communal riots are usually spontaneous outbursts or can they indeed be deliberately organised and ignited?

Unfortunately, they can and such "made to order" riots are growing in number. The vast majority of communal riots in India since 1952 have been the result of a general weakening of the law and order machinery in its fight against goondas and criminal elements. Some powerful elements have now found that communal riots are an excellent means of displaying their muscle and their hold on vote banks, and in this way enable them to extract concessions from weak state governments and chief ministers. This was shown in Bombay recently when well-known smugglers and leaders of the Shiv Sena, detained for their part in communal riots, were subsequently released, presumably as part of an overall political deal.

To start a communal riot it is not necessary that even a small minority of Hindus and Muslims should want to fight each other. It is enough if one in 1,000 is willing to indulge in riots. In Bombay this number would be about 8,000, in Hyderabad it may be about 3,000, in cities like Aligarh and Moradabad the number would be just 400 or so. These numbers are enough to start a vicious communal riot which may leave a trail of several corpses, hospitals full of wounded, and through the imposition of curfew totally disrupt industry and commerce.

## Goondas' Allegiance

If political leaders of any part command the allegiance of these goondas (and many chief ministers, ex-chief ministers, leaders of opposition and big bosses of political parties do have such as following), and if they are willing to spend a few million rupees (chicken feed for most of them) a riot can be instigated.

Our cities are full of slums, dark alleys, bye-lanes where no police patrol is visible. In these lanes a few Hindus and Muslims have simply to be stabbed by paid goondas and the rest follows. The stabbed will run to their homes crying and a full-scale riot will be on. Before the police intervenes, the goondas can implement their own riot-scheme, namely, to loot valuables from shops. They can always stop their operations after two or three days if para-military forces are deployed in strength. But the manipulators would have achieved their objective.

All this means that to some extent we are at the mercy of politicians and their band of goondas. But looking at the other side it is also a source of optimism that 998 out of 1,000 Hindus and Muslims do not want to fight or kill each other. After all millions of Hindus and Muslims live side by side without there being any riots. If the apparent causes of big riots—a woman of one community being molested by the male of another community; goondas of different communities fighting each other; religious processions being disturbed—were the real causes we should be in a state of perpetual civil war. Hundreds of such incidents take place without any escalations into riots.

If there is a communal riot in any city in India the CRPF, the BSF and other army battalions can move in within 24 hours. The names of local trouble-makers are invariably known to the police. It just needs a chief minister, totally free from political bias, to get a few hundred people in small cities and a few thousand people in Hyderabad or Bombay or other big towns, rounded up and sent to jails,

preferably outside the city. Once this is done a communal riot will collapse like a punctured balloon. Riots occur because police chiefs have to follow certain political guidelines in making arrests. These exclude arrest of goondas belonging to the chief minister's party. City police chiefs constantly get phone calls from ministers in the Capital which relate mostly to release of goondas close to these leaders.

## Show Determination

Even before Independence the capacity of the law and order machinery to deal with communal riots depended mainly upon the strength and the will of the persons dealing with the situation. When the government was not interested, the responsibility rested on the district magistrate and the superintendent of police who had to show the necessary determination. A former director of the NPA, now retired, Mr S.C. Misra, gives the following account of such situations: "When everybody was assembled, Micky entered the hall unceremoniously and ordered the doors to be closed and bolted from inside. He then harangued the local leaders for about a quarter of an hour, using every epithet and abuse in his vocabulary and accused them of being directly responsible for all the trouble in the city. Before they could say anything in defence, he directed the superintendent of police to have them arrested and sent to jail."

The leaders were nonplussed and completely dumbfounded at this disastrous turn of events. Some of them stood up to speak in their own defence but Micky refused to listen to them. Realising that the collector meant business and knowing his past reputation, they, in one voice, asked for forgiveness and pleaded for mercy.

"When Micky was satisfied that they were genuinely repentant and would create no further trouble, he agreed to let them off provided they signed a previously prepared agreement. This document was in the nature of an unconditional apology for their past misdeeds and a promise to maintain peace in the future. Despite the indignity they suffered, they were happy at this small gesture of kindness on the part of the collector. They were even elated at the possibility of being saved the ignominy of a jail confinement."

"They gladly signed the agreement without reading its contents and breathed a great sigh of relief when they found themselves free to go home. The impact of this highly unconventional approach to the problem was tremendous, and complete peace prevailed in the city thereafter. As long as Micky stayed in the district as collector, no trouble of any kind took place."

The National Security Act and Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code give state governments legal powers to emulate the example of Micky, if they want to. The real difficulty is that they have neither the will nor the moral fibre to arrest trouble-makers being to some extent themselves guilty of collaborating with such criminal elements. They can arrest goondas belonging to other parties. But such one-sided arrests only aggravate the situation.

These goonda leaders with their money and their captive vote banks will become more and more important with the approach of the Lok Sabha elections. In Hyderabad recently Mr Bhaskara Rao when he usurped the chief ministership, released from detention a number of persons arrested in connection with previous communal riots. In such a situation it is any surprise that the prospects for checking communal riots in the future is becoming bleaker as we have more and more riots "made to order".



# Class-Culture Divide In Pakistan

## Significance Of Zia-Bhutto Clash

By AKBAR S. AHMED

GENERAL Zia-ul-Haq came to power in Pakistan exactly seven years ago amidst predictions, including his own, that he would not last more than a few months. Events have falsified these predictions. It is time for stock-taking.

The period has had bad moments and publicity: the hanging of Mr Z.A. Bhutto, stories of lashings, amputations and deprivation of women's rights. It has also been fraught with international crises in neighbouring lands. Afghanistan—which has sent three million refugees into Pakistan—Iran and now, on the southern border, the Sikhs in India are in turmoil. International tensions have also been severe as in Sind last year.

How has Pakistan survived, indeed in economic terms, even thrived? Perhaps the most significant factor has been the seven years of relative internal stability. Indeed, this is the longest period of stability Pakistan has enjoyed in its history after Ayub Khan's rule which ended in 1969. We may look for answers in rural areas.

### Silent Majority

About 75 per cent of Pakistan's 90 million people live in rural areas; rural society is the silent majority of Pakistan politics. The province of Punjab is important because it contains about 57 per cent of Pakistan's total population and its richest agricultural lands. It also dominates the army and the civil services, the two key organisations in the country.

Two major sources account for stability of rural society and strength of the economy. First, remittances worth about three billion dollars, sent annually by some three million Pakistanis working abroad, secondly, the remarkable agricultural success story of small farmers, a good example of which are the Arains. Their numbers are not known.

Max Weber's thesis applies to these farmers. It is an Asian version of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. The combination of Arain frugality, thrift and hard work makes for a successful farmer. Arains are mainstream Sunni Muslims and have not joined controversial groups like Ahmedis. In spirit and ritual they align with fundamentalist preachings of Islam. Like the Arain head of the party, Mian Tufail, they tend to support the Jamat-i-Islami, Pakistan's major religious party.

When Pakistan was created in 1947 the Arains migrated *en bloc* from east Punjab. They sold vegetables, fruits and flowers and were considered at the bottom of the Punjabi social order dominated by Rajputs, Jats and Gujars. Today Arains point towards some key figures in the regime such as General Zia, Dr Asfzal, the education

minister, and General Mujibur Rehman, the information secretary, with a new sense of pride.

Farmers like the Arains have an important senses provided the main anchor to President Zia's stability (the weather has helped agriculture too).

Escaping their low social position thousands are abroad, especially in Arab states, sending home money regularly. In the U.K., too, especially in cities such as Glasgow and London, Arains maintain the work ethic. They have moved out of factories and now own thriving groceries and cloth stores. Money sent home is invested in tractors and tube-wells.

Pakistan in 1947 became a symbol for these refugee farmers, a sacred trust.

"I will tell you what Islam and Pakistan mean," said President Zia in an emotional voice, tears welling in his eyes, putting aside the official text at an international conference on Islam in Islamabad recently. "It is a vision of my mother struggling on tired feet, with her worldly possessions in her hands, when she crossed the border into Pakistan". They crossed Sikhs leaving behind their lands and heading in the opposite direction for east Punjab where they would create India's most prosperous agricultural community. From Lahore south to Multan and crossing into the Sind—and thereby creating friction with Sindhi farmers—the Arains worked the land. Most of the farms are small, to ten acre, family concerns.

The spirit of capitalism is embodied in the Arains, the green farms of the Arains are an enchanting feature of otherwise generally arid landscape. They monopolise the *mandis*, the agricultural market and trade centres, in much of Punjab.

### Frontier Spirit

When the British conquered Punjab from the Sikhs in their drive towards the north-west regions of India they inherited a potentially rich agricultural zone. The famous canal colonies, built around an elaborate network of canals, were created. New districts, named after Victorian heroes, appeared on Punjab's map: Lyallpur after Lyall, and Montgomery after Montgomery (Lyallpur has recently been renamed as Faisalabad after the Saudi King and Montgomery as Sahiwal after the group which lives there). Among the small farmers settled here were the Arains. The British called them "peasant proprietors". Punjab was destined to become the "bread basket" of British India.

The push towards the Indus created in the farmers a frontier spirit, not unlike that of the mid-west farmer in the USA now in the heart of the Bible belt. The head of the farm relied on his own ingenuity to tame the land. Unlike the farmers along the Rawalpindi-Jhelum road, descendants of warrior groups like the Rajputs, who supplemented their incomes by joining

the British army, the Arain worked his farm. He learned to depend on his sinews; it gave him pride in the land. It also made him of the earthy. He was seen by the bigger landlords as socially crude.

Even today the Arain world is agricultural prices, varieties of seeds and fertilisers and timings of the canals which bring water to his field. He has little of the elegance and polish of the traditional feudal landlords of Punjab. Noons and Tiwanas, of Rajput origin. Afternoon tea parties, partridge shoots or polo are not associated with Arain. Nor does he waste his energies on dancing girls or drunken evenings listening to poetry or numerous marriages, a pastime of the landed gentry through which they alienated their lands.

If President Zia symbolizes Arain values Mr Bhutto symbolized those of the aristocratic landlord class. In a sense the confrontation between these two is an important theme of contemporary Pakistan politics. This conflict was not only between two kinds of politics; it also reflected two distinct social ideologies and classes.

General Zia is, as we know, an Arain and reflects Arain values. Son of a junior officer he is self-consciously proud of his humble background and hence aware of the distance he has travelled to reach the highest office in the land. In spite of critics' accusations—of hypocrisy, lying etc.—he is known for his abstemious piety and humility.

Mr Bhutto, on the other hand, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. The world was his oyster. Berkeley and Oxford added flair but failed to conceal the characteristics of the Sindhi landlord. His charisma and brilliance were personal but his political style reflected north Indian feudalism. For Mr Bhutto's class Arain values were lowly and contemptible.

Interestingly, neither President Zia nor Mr Bhutto publicly identified with, or confined themselves to, their groups. One pushed outwards to Islam the other downwards to the common people.

### Green Revolution

Recent World Bank reports suggest that Pakistan, at present with a per capita income of about \$350, is on the threshold of joining the middle-level nations leaving behind its neighbours in south Asia, notably India and Bangladesh. A sort of "green revolution" that characterised President Ayub Khan's era is afoot. One sign is that Pakistan is exporting wheat, rice and sugar. Unsung and little known, the small farmer like the Arain may well be the hero of Pakistan's success story in agriculture.

The story provides a stable and prosperous foundation to society and gives President Zia's vision of Pakistan a legitimacy and his politics a base. It also sustains the extravagant ideological ambitions of those who dream of Pakistan's special destiny.

AR

The article  
French An

THE political co  
Europe and in th  
been so radically tr  
the course of the last  
that there survives  
ally nothing of the o  
Among many other r  
overturning of the  
the substantial mo  
France, even greater  
where, of the compo  
diplomatic service an  
ment to it. As relief  
over from the old Ca  
the political corps  
others amongst us h  
radically remodelled.

"I do not know of"  
Cambon in 1926. "a  
which is more varied  
other which has fe  
rules and more of tr  
which calls for great  
ance for success an  
success depends on  
of circumstances; not  
a strict discipline  
cessary and which  
those who exercise  
strength of character  
independent spirit."

To me these  
by our (French)  
Ambassador to C  
describing a profes  
gular one which esc  
rise definition, appea  
standingly apt. As h  
truly remarked by  
outrey, the words "d  
"diplomacy" did not  
appearance in the F  
age before the Revol  
Seventeenth and eip  
turies knew only of  
an expression which  
of fact, more exact a  
appropriate.

The word "Diplom  
for the first time by  
in 1792 in an article  
paper the *Defender*  
tution. The Incommu  
it briefly and if I mig  
use the expression,  
reer over the baptis  
stood godfather to it  
godfather for it in I  
know few officials w  
recalled that. As to  
early reactionary ele  
name formerly was  
who suffered when th  
farsellaise and avoi  
possible any referenc  
public, it is easy to  
fate of mind in the  
icide and terroris  
tional.

SCIENCE OF E  
RELATIO

It was with a wis  
that the French Acad  
ed the word-coinage  
who was the soul of t  
of Public Safety, for  
"Diplomat" to the l  
place in its dictionary  
under the patronisin  
reassuring reign of  
yen, Citizen-King. Th  
lomacy", on the othe  
already made its app  
since 1798. At the beg



# ART OF DIPLOMACY

The article published below is based upon a lecture delivered by the French Ambassador in India at the Osmania University some weeks back.

By J. P. Garnier

THE political conditions in Europe and in the world have been so radically transformed in the course of the last twenty years that there survives almost literally nothing of the old status quo. Among many other results of this overturning of the old order is the substantial modification in the substantial modification in France, even greater than elsewhere, of the composition of the diplomatic service and of recruitment to it. As relief it has taken over from the old Career, perhaps the political corps which of all others amongst us has been most radically remodelled.

"I do not know of", wrote Jules Cambon in 1926, "any profession which is more varied. There is no other which has fewer precise rules and more of traditions; none which calls for greater perseverance for success and where yet success depends on the hazards of circumstances; none in which a strict discipline is as necessary and which exacts from those who exercise it greater strength of character and a more independent spirit."

To me these words used by our (French) one-time Ambassador to Germany for describing a profession, a singular one which escapes all precise definition, appears to be outstandingly apt. As has been very truly remarked by M. Amedee Outrey, the words "diplomat" and "diplomacy" did not make their appearance in the French language before the Revolution of 1789. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries knew only of "Negotiators", an expression which was, in point of fact, more exact and more appropriate.

The word "Diplomat" was used for the first time by Robespierre in 1792 in an article of the newspaper the *Defender of the Constitution*. The Incorruptible, to put it briefly and if I might venture to use the expression, held the Career over the baptismal font and stood godfather to it. A strange godfather for it in Robespierre! I know few officials who have ever recalled that. As to the particularly reactionary elements, whose name formerly was legion and who suffered when they heard the Marseillaise and avoided as far as possible any reference to the Republic, it is easy to imagine their state of mind in the face of theicide and terroristic Conventional.

## SCIENCE OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS

It was with a wise dilatoriness that the French Academy endorsed the word-coinage of the man who was the soul of the Committee of Public Safety, for it admitted "Diplomat" to the honour of a place in its dictionary only in 1835, under the patronising and rather reassuring reign of the Roi-Citoyen, Citizen-King. The word "Diplomacy", on the other hand, had already made its appearance in it since 1798. At the beginning of the

First Empire, Flaxman, a former official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Revolution, who had re-entered it under Napoleon I, explained the meaning of this strange term. According to him, it had stood "for a number of years for the science of external relations, which had for its basis 'diplomas' or written documents emanating from sovereigns!"

Such was the birth, from the formal point of view, of what M. de Saint-Aulaire calls "the first of the inexact sciences and the last of the fine arts", a sort of Cinderella of history.

But though the word is relatively new, the practice has existed from immemorial times, ever since man and divergent interests came into existence, well in advance of the constitution of States properly so-called, or the later birth of nationalities. "Never argue always negotiate", declared Paul Cambon, the worthy emulator of the Great Cardinal, who in his Testament set forth: "States derive so much advantage from negotiations when these are conducted with prudence that it is not possible to believe it when one has not seen it from experience. To negotiate ceaselessly, openly or secretly, in all circumstances, even when no immediate results are gained and those that might accrue in the future are not apparent, is of all things the thing most necessary for the good of States."

On assuming office in Washington, Mr. John Kennedy has revived on his own account the doctrine of *Richelieu*, and in terms which are very clear: "We shall not negotiate under the domination of fear, but we shall have no fear to negotiate", and he added that it was necessary to find out "if a bridgehead of co-operation can be established in the jungle of suspicions."

If William of Orange is to be believed, "it is not necessary, to hope in order to be able to take up an enterprise, nor to succeed in order to persevere", a maxim which every diplomat worth the name

should always keep in his mind although without becoming by virtue of it what M. de Chambrun called with a perceptible reserve "an active pessimist",—for he held that only an optimist could be a true creator and become capable of success.

## FORMULA FOR SUCCESS

No more should we put out of sight the *ipse dixit* of Frederic the Great according to which "His Majesty King Hazard carries on three-quarters of the business of this miserable universe." The King of Prussia, who certainly did not lack experience, added that "the art of politics did not consist in creating opportunities, but in profiting from them," which is no doubt an established truth in a large measure. Out of this came the amusing formula for obtaining diplomatic success proposed by M. J. F. Blondel: "Effort + time + secrecy + circumstances."

However, it is not possible to deny that a statesman of the calibre of a *Cavour* or of a *Bismarck*, to give only two instances, has succeeded many times in bringing about, by himself, and deliberately the circumstances necessary for realising their designs. "Sire, have one success, and Rome will yield", wrote in his time Cardinal d'Ossat to Henry IV of Navarre.

All this confirms the views of Jules Cambon. It is the same as far as discipline is concerned. Under an exterior of perfect urbanity it always reveals itself to be very strict in reality. "Take careful note", said one of my chiefs to me when I was a Third Secretary "that here you are in a barrack where people have—that I admit—good manners." A salutary warning! Not to be mistaken on that score is a matter of importance. A drawing-room perhaps, but if, the authority of the chiefs are clothed with amenity of manners, with an external gentleness, it is not any the more to be questioned on ac-



but we  
mattered  
of a na  
commu  
religion  
again in  
we und

Does  
television  
efficient  
no, in  
ious Si  
plaining  
ster. A  
they ha  
that w  
Doorda  
degree  
"crisis"  
sions w  
have to  
the is-  
Water  
And

desire  
rare. v  
ditional  
mission  
at the  
was ob  
the na  
mony c  
H. K  
e she  
hiput  
speech  
read.

c  
 st  
 c  
 h  
 C  
 th  
 le  
 to  
 k  
 te  
 re  
 se

7  
1  
2 W  
1 gi  
1 W  
1 W  
CO  
CJ

Ch  
im  
he  
an  
co  
wi  
..  
for  
ab  
he  
ne

room  
more  
ple  
ph  
ing  
you  
dir  
or  
kin  
mil  
he  
wa  
wh  
cou  
rig  
the  
fac

hav  
was  
from  
de  
by  
nat  
ron  
all:  
hier  
mor  
ful  
of t  
O  
ed, h  
chie  
less  
own  
their



count of that. M. Nisard, "with his starched and out-of-date politeness, characteristic of the Career", sent his footman to take to Charles Chambrun, then a young attache, the following note: "My dear colleague, if you have nothing better to do, may I request you to be so kind as to decipher this morning a telegram whose contents I am interested in knowing before going to see Cardinal Rampolla at noon?"

#### PEREMPTORY ORDER

It is difficult to find expressions which could be more courteous in giving a peremptory order. Nothing was missing in it, no ambiguity was possible, and the time given could not have been more precisely indicated.

Later, in Rome, when M. de Chambrun, ambassador in his turn, imposed some forced labour on us, he always began by asking us in an ingenuous manner, with an encouraging smile. "Tell me, my dear, will you enjoy representing me at . . . ." but he did so without being for one moment under any illusion about the quality of the enjoyment he was offering to us in this manner.

When, at Warsaw, M. Jules Laroché was called upon at the last moment to ask one of us to complete his table, he amiably telephoned at about eight in the evening to our house: "Dear friend, if you are free this evening come to dinner at the Embassy in black tie or tails at eight-thirty. It will be kind of you if you arrive a few minutes earlier than the guests," he added as he rang off, without waiting for the affirmative reply which was to come as a matter of course. Married people had the right to greater management and their participation appeared, in fact, to be less sought after.

Thirty years ago, nobody could have contemplated, unless there was a major impediment, to escape from the pleasure promised by M. de Chambrun or the supper offered by M. J. Laroché. To a subordinate who showed impatience Baron Malouet explained once and for all: "Yes, Monsieur, there exists a hierarchy in the Embassy from the moment when anyone is disrespectful of it." Who could have thought of that?

On that plane nothing has changed, basically, if it is not that the chiefs of missions are at present less inclined to consult only their own convenience in dealing with their colleagues, whose private life

(Continued on page II)

## ART OF DIPLOMACY

(Continued from page I)

they respect more. This last has a more independent place in the Service than it had before. On the other hand, the officials are no longer lodged in the residences of the Ambassadors, whose tables were ordinarily kept open for all bachelors.

### NO PRECISE RULES BUT TRADITIONS

Few precise rules, and a good deal of traditions. Since the far-off 1st of January of the year of grace 1589, when Louis de Revol found himself assigned exclusively to foreign affairs—a distinction of whose value we should like to think he was fully conscious, we have for a long time remained where we were.

Appointed to this post at the age of fifty-eight, the first Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had "a simple and modest bearing and a rather unobtrusive character". Contemporary testimony describes him as a man who was faithful and of good reputation, accustomed to serve the King since very young days, though in court affairs and councils he had never passed for an able man," which in the circumstances could be regarded as rather unfortunate. On all accounts, the first holder of a portfolio which has always given rise to so much covetous desire, seems to have been one of those good and devoted administrators, docile, conscientious, hard-working, but of mediocre intellect, of whom we have had so many. He was neither an eagle, nor a fore-runner of Richelieu or Talleyrand. For all that, the honest fellow had not any the less to follow closely and very attentively questions relating to Italy, Piedmont, Savoy, Spain, Flanders, Franche-Comte, the Levant, Poland, Sweden, Scotland, and Switzerland, henceforth within his competence.

I wonder if anybody has ever thought of the dramatic circum-

stances in which Louis de Revol entered the Council of Ministers. It was eight days after the assassination of the Duke of Guise, less than two weeks after the death of Catherine de Medicis, the formidable Florentine Princess—the kingdom was falling a prey to deep dissensions as a result; everything was dislocated, going to rack and ruin; monarchical authority was broken into and breached, a new civil war was at our door. The vicissitudes of his reign had at thirty-eight years made a toothless and hoary old man of a king who was seductive, though somewhat effeminate, at the time of his accession to the throne.

In thus laying the foundation of the future ministry of foreign affairs had Henry III taken, in some sort of way, a virile decision whose major consequences for the future had been carefully weighed and which was imposed by imperative considerations of foreign policy. We should like to think that this was so, for it would in itself be a flattering homage to our evident usefulness. But, alas! there is no such indication, none! It would seem that the younger brother of Charles IX in this matter obeyed, above all, an urge of administrative reorganisation, met a need for putting things in better order.

However that may be, when eight months later the King fell to the knife of the "wicked monk" Jacques Clement, Henri IV in his wisdom did not go back on the measures decided upon by his predecessors. It became, on the contrary, definitive, and on the death of Revol, Nicholas, Seigneur de Villeroy, succeeded him in 1594 with all the responsibilities and prerogatives.

Since then projects of statutes of organic reform, radical changes, or minor modifications have succeeded one another without much appreciable result. The "Department" has remained down to the latest times characterised by the empiricism of its beginnings, and at bottom rather rebellious against the spirit of system, and sceptical, too, as to its effectiveness.

(To be continued)



ba  
thul we  
matter  
of a n  
comm  
religio  
again  
we un

Don't  
television  
efficient  
no, in  
ous S  
plainin  
ster.  
they h  
That v  
Doorda  
degree  
"crisis"  
sions v  
have t  
In is  
after  
And  
meeting  
shan it  
in ever  
the fe  
hic or

The  
ng pl  
tracal  
perhap  
of p  
desire  
rare. v  
tional  
missin  
at the  
was o  
he ne  
mony  
I. K  
e she  
minut  
becc  
lead

in  
ou  
P  
M  
n  
a  
r  
n  
v  
c  
l  
m  
l  
E  
S

I  
ma  
ya  
Jan  
2-1  
t  
Ed  
KH  
f  
He

1000

W  
Tse-t  
"Tell  
what  
the  
Chin  
Then  
straig  
plied

I have  
the In  
it is,  
under  
But t  
are n  
fall a  
time

Has  
it is  
good  
I have  
of the  
in the  
ter.  
India  
exhaus  
rating  
trust.  
such v  
tunitie

The critics accused, the w diplomat writes, behind interna toucha the re and th diplom pose, v est bre inquer what

Often what comes from the region is driven and built. And the primary to diplom leads a ministe telepho made tantan out of nate a us co nswer

Diplo  
a cr  
popular  
place.  
vity v  
ent, "  
ut" d  
diploma  
o be  
an to  
is an  
emptin  
emptat  
sisted

Diplo  
concise  
the m



# OF DIPLOMACY

There was a time when a diplomat was a privileged person leading a sheltered and even enviable existence in the great cities of the world. He was noted for his wit, elegance and social charm. Today's diplomat, living in less settled times, is not so fortunate, and his job demands more than urbanity. K. NATWAR-SINGH describes the changed world of the diplomat.

ON DIPLOMACY  
AND  
DIPLOMATS

WHEN Andre Malraux met Chairman Mao Tse-tung, he asked him, "Tell me, Mr. Chairman, what has been the effect of the French Revolution on China?" There was a pause. Then Mao looked Malraux straight in the face and replied, "It is too early to say."

I have only spent 25 years in the Indian Foreign Service and it is, therefore, rash of me to undertake writing this article. But the perils of introspection are not unknown to me and I fall a prey to them from time to time. I do so now.

Has it been worth it? Perhaps it is too early to say. Incredible good fortune has come my way. I have seen and visited nearly 90 of the world's capital cities, 30 in the company of a prime minister. To represent independent India has been inspiring, exciting, exhausting, rewarding and exhilarating. It has also been a sacred trust. Few other professions offer such varied experiences or opportunities.

The profession of diplomacy is criticised, maligned, envied, ridiculed, but seldom understood and the widespread impression about diplomats is not flattering. Charles Thayer in his book *Diplomat* writes, "Coddled and pampered behind this formidable barrier of international law and custom, untouchable by the police, beyond the reach of the tax collector and the customs inspector, the diplomatic corps, one might suppose, would be the world's greatest breeding ground for adult delinquents". The reality is somewhat different.

Often friends ask me, "Tell us what do you actually do, apart from attending dinners and receptions, sitting in a chauffeur-driven Mercedes, flying a flag and buying duty-free goods?" And they go on, "Why is it necessary to maintain such expensive diplomatic establishments when heads of government and foreign ministers meet so often, when the telephone and the telegraph have made communication almost instantaneous. Aren't you fellows out of date?" These are legitimate questions and deserve serious consideration. I shall try and answer them.

Diplomacy is a profession. It is a craft in which, contrary to popular belief, craftiness has no place. If there is one human activity where the 11th commandment, "Thou shall not be found out" does not hold good it is diplomacy. It is wiser and safer to be honest and unspectacular than to be flamboyant and false. It is an area of work where it is tempting to cut a figure. That temptation should be strenuously resisted.

Diplomacy is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as "the management of or skill in

managing international relations." But the word "diplomatic" is put down to mean, "deceitful". Matters were made worse by Sir Henry Watton who unwisely described an ambassador as "an honest man who is sent to the abroad for the good of his country". He lived to regret it but nothing sticks like a falsehood, and his later advice, that "an ambassador to be serviceable to his country should always speak the truth" is hardly ever recalled.

What counts in the long run is character, integrity, dedication, hard work. Harold Nicolson in his durable little book *Diplomacy* wrote, "these then are the qualities of my ideal diplomatist: Truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty, loyalty. They are also the qualities of an ideal diplomacy". Nicolson goes on, "But the reader may object, 'you have forgotten intelligence, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and even tact'. I have not forgotten them. I have taken them for granted."

Diplomacy in practice means conducting relations with foreign powers, on the basis of policies decided by the government of a country. Diplomats are the instruments that implement policy, by explaining it, defending it, analysing it. More often than not, this is done in an environment not always congenial, to governments not always friendly, to people not always well-informed, to a media not always sympathetic or to an audience not always attentive. The object is to influence their thinking, correct their prejudices, remove their misconceptions, soothe their sensitiveness, arouse their interest and do all this quietly and by peaceful means. To achieve this, a country must have a highly professional foreign service. Regrettably, many countries in the developing world fail to see the connection between the two. You can't project a good image with imperfect tools.

Let me elaborate. Each country has a foreign policy and each country wants to safeguard its vital national interests without unduly treading on other peoples' toes. Decisions of foreign policy are generally the result of a mixture of motives, self-interest, regional loyalty, international obligations, compromise, the satisfying of pressure groups.

Since each state is trying to do more or less the same thing—widen its sphere of influence, increase trade, export more, import less—life becomes very difficult. Classical diplomacy was conducted in a leisurely fashion on the basis of mutual self-interest by a handful of European powers. This is no longer so.

During the past 30 years, dramatic and drastic changes have taken place in the field of diplomatic activity. Between 1822 and 1870 there were two to six



# by and Diplomats

embassies in London. In 1914 there were nine. The United States raised their legation in London to an embassy in 1893—115 years after their independence. Today London has 140 Foreign Missions. In New Delhi we have over a hundred, in Lusaka nearly 40.

There was a time, not too long ago, when a diplomat was a man apart and privileged, leading a sheltered existence, in great cities like Paris and Rome, Vienna and London. He was known for his sartorial elegance, his gastronomic fastidiousness, his amorous agility, for his capacity to consume large quantities of alcohol, for his charm, his wit, his conversation. He knew everyone worth knowing i.e. the ruling few. The diplomatic bag would arrive once in two months, visitors from home were infrequent. His despatches would be written in excellent prose and known for their liveliness.

women are handed barbaric punishments, with no recourse to appeal. To withstand such places for any length of time, immense trained patience, self-control and inner strength are required.

A vast majority of diplomats now spend the better part of their working lives in strange and remote parts of the world—sometimes separated from their families for long periods. They function under trying circumstances and in hostile environments.

Too much is made of the false glamour of diplomatic life. Let me, therefore, first get rid of this soft-ware of diplomacy. Yes, diplomats do attend a lot of parties—they have to. One cannot absent oneself from a National Day reception, or not be seen at a trade fair, a fete to raise funds, or at a football match where the Head of State is present. The

social conditions of the country to which he is accredited. Foreign policy decisions involve intricate decision making processes—these processes differ from country to country. Government objectives are not always clearly defined or definable, information is sometimes inadequate, the result of a particular line of factor intrudes, as do mental differences.

An ambassador's duty is imperative for him to pursue his country's vital national interests with vigour and absolute loyalty. This is not done either by a glare of publicity or by mediocrity of culture, or by delegation from the home country who have neither the time, knowledge or interest to study a problem in depth. This can only be done by a well-staffed embassy.

Modern diplomacy also involves up-to-date knowledge of economics, trade, commerce, high finance. Quite rightly commerce and trade work is now one of the most important branches of diplomatic life.

Among the first actions of a newly independent country is to appoint and receive ambassadors. The widening range of diplomatic activity accounts for the increase of diplomats and if diplomats were so unwanted their numbers should be decreasing not increasing. You might ask—when leaders or nations meet frequently at the United Nations, the OAU, the OAS, at non-aligned conferences, at a meeting of Commonwealth heads, what do high commissioners and ambassadors do? Well, heads of government and foreign ministers are, or should be, busy people and if they are to justify their existence, then they ought to spend more time at home and less abroad. Secondly, diplomacy is a continuing process. Heads of government and foreign ministers cannot be a substitute for an embassy because they cannot be present to deal with the "follow-up" action. Too frequent meetings at high level would debase the currency, strain the foreign service and achieve little. A country must not fire its biggest gun unless something really vital is involved.

Can ambassadors influence policies? Can they change the course of events? Sometimes. In the reports and recommendations of the ambassador that governments base their policies relating to a particular country. They have to rely on the man on the spot. He should not tell headquarters what they want to hear, but the truth and nothing but the truth. Reporting home is a hazardous undertaking, one has to combine candour with caution. In days gone by it was difficult and time-consuming to verify and double check the ambassador's recommendation and information. Today it is very easy and takes no time. Only a foolish man will dare risk giving unsound advice. He will be found out in no time.

There is no room in the diplomatic world for people who do not measure up to the highest standards. Those countries which dump their discarded generals, ageing and ailing intellectuals, second-rate journalists, on embassies, do injury to a great calling. I should not say more. The only emotion a diplomat is permitted is controlled indignation.

N. B.

SERIAL No. OF QUESTIONS

Fold Here

Fold Here

Fold Here

If he represented a power, like England or France, then he could arrange for a gun-boat or two to appear to keep the natives in their place. His person was sacrosanct, his mission immune and he lived happily ever after. We, who are born in less settled times, are less fortunate.

Contrary to the popular view a diplomatic career is not a smooth progression from post to post. We live in an age when powerful forces of change and upheaval leave us little respite. Embassies are set on fire, ambassadors hijacked, kidnapped, even assassinated, their families harassed, mail tampered with. A diplomat can spend more than half his career languishing in capitals where life is unsafe, where freedom and liberty are unknown, where decency and goodness are smothered, where the intelligentsia has been destroyed, where for the most trivial offences men and

fact is that useful information is gathered at these functions.

The social and representational side of modern diplomacy appears, but is not entirely wasteful or unnecessary. A fair amount of serious business is transacted at the U.N., at these social occasions. On the protocol side, change is called for. Oddly enough the socialist countries and the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa pay far more attention to protocol than is really necessary.

Now the hardware. "The most important and elementary requirement of good diplomacy is to know where power lies". This is not always easy since one is dealing with parliaments, presidents, politbureaus, princes, palaces, paranoid dictators and tyrants. Apart from negotiating, the ambassador's basic task is to report on the political, economic and



is now twenty years passed away, years of our life, we have many fields. The moral and spiritual of the nation, seems to flourish in dimensions vitiating our public life. The has disappeared, and not above reproach.

Dr. KARAN SII

THE WORD dharma comes from the root which upholds or represents the conceptual framework of intellectual and spiritual life within which a civilization out its role in world history. When the dharma is clear — as it was in the or in Periclean Greece — possible a unique flow of human personality, and is greatly enriched by other hand, when dharma is as, for example, during the middle ages, not only is the life of the nation degraded, but individuals also work out their full potential and sink into the morass of the twentieth century. There have been attempts to build on materialistic assumptions, most impressive attempt the Marxist-Leninist which, with important today covers one-third of the human race. At the end of the spectrum, there is essentially materialistic which, with important today covers one-third of the globe.

India has always been the exception. In the last hundred years that India has emerged into freedom, a new chapter in the history of world civilization. Thus, the great prophet of nationalism who was in the radical wing of the National Congress at the end of the century, consisted of the special dimension of freedom. In his famous speech, delivered after his release from prison, he said of the Indian nation: "She does not rise for herself, she rises for the nations do for self or, world. She is rising to shed a light entrusted to her care. India has always been a land of humanity and not for herself that she must

when Gandhiji came to India and integrated the movement of the national movement, a powerful unified force, he also at pains to stress the unity of India's message. His concepts of ahimsa and satyagraha were by no means a new moral dimension torn by hatred and strife.



It is now twenty years since Jawaharlal Nehru passed away, years in which, despite great difficulties, we have made substantial progress in many fields. The most disturbing feature, however, has been that despite this progress the whole moral and spiritual framework, the dharma of the nation, seems to have collapsed. There is no discernible ideology or moral commitment, corruption flourishes and has assumed alarming dimensions vitiating virtually every sphere of our public life. The old stress on correct means has disappeared, and the ends themselves are not above reproach.

# How To

## Dr. KARAN SINGH

THE WORD dharma comes from the root dhri, which upholds or supports. It represents the broad conceptual framework of ethical, intellectual and spiritual values within which a civilization sets out its role in world history. When the dharma is clear and strong — as it was in the Vedic or in Periclean Greece — it makes possible a unique flowering of the human personality, and civilization is greatly enriched. On the other hand, when dharma collapses — as, for example, in Europe during the middle ages, or India during many of our spells of servitude, not only is the collective life of the nation gravely damaged, but individuals also are unable to work out their full potential and sink into the morass.

To some extent Jawaharlal Nehru translated this vision of the political seers into practical terms after India became free.

He attempted to evolve an Indian model of socialism which would combine liberalism and social welfare with some elements of our cultural heritage, and, in the field of foreign policy, he propounded the twin concepts of Panchsheel and non-alignment at a time when the super-powers were polarised. It was a clear attempt to project the power of Indian civilization on the world stage. I am not concerned here with whether, or to what extent, he succeeded. The point is that the broad framework of a dharma was sought to be projected by these great leaders of our freedom movement, convinced as they were that India had a special role to play in determining the contours of human destiny.

It is now twenty years since Jawaharlal Nehru passed away, years in which, despite great difficulties, we have made substantial progress in many fields. The most disturbing feature, however, has been that despite this progress the whole moral and spiritual framework, the dharma of the nation, seems to have collapsed. There is no discernible ideology or moral commitment, corruption flourishes and has assumed alarming dimensions vitiating virtually every sphere of our public life. The old stress on correct means has disappeared, and the ends themselves are not above reproach.

Individually, people in India are deeply religious. The number of pilgrims to all our leading shrines — Hindu, Muslim or any other — is growing apace. Thousands of new temples, mosques, gurdwaras and other places of worship have sprung up throughout the length and breadth of India. And yet, for some curious reason, this individual piety does not reflect itself in our collective life. We all work for what we perceive to be our individual welfare, but in the process grossly neglect the public good. In the result, the individual also finds himself without any clear inner guidelines, adrift on an uncharted ocean without a compass.

The great virtue of the ancient concept of dharma was that it provided not only a scheme of individual salvation but also of collective values. Our Constitution does to some extent incorporate some of the elements of our heritage, particularly the unenforceable Directive Principles, but somehow it has become a legal document rather than an integral part of our moral texture. This



James Dean's Rebel without a Cause and dance numbers chopped to pieces in the rock-video style of Flashdance. Unfortunate, you don't get the climactic director, Ross. Veteran Hollywood director, as the most adventurous boy handles newcomer Kevin Bacon in town who challenges the bans for the right of the



# The S

Our ancient sages have penetrated the deep mysteries of life. Much of their observations are now being confirmed by the advances of modern science.

## by Ramadhar

It was obvious that the Vedas were not composed by a single person. They gradually emerged from a way of thinking at the riddle of life in an obscure period of antiquity. Of course, they contained a mass of contradictory and complicated details about human beings could organise individual and collective life in conformity with the laws of the universe. The latter itself being a vast network, or part, of a vast system operating from behind the scene as the actor of its own causal drama.

This immense variety of Vedas developed slowly over a long period of time. It may have taken even thousands of years to take its present form. The Vedas were its culmination, its apex. It was not possible to assign a definite period to the emergence of this hoary tradition. Some have speculated a great deal on the issue but when looked at the question carefully one found that it was hardly possible to say whether this body of literature was created five, ten or twenty thousand years before. Its spiritual essence, transcended space and time.

This great body of literature could not be described as solely the product of the human mind. It was, perhaps, more correctly to say that it was a mixture, partly the product of the human mind and partly the result of the realisation of the non-causal existence, animating the human life. Within this realisation of human life, both individual and social, the concept of social causality, in favour of improving the life on this planet, was ruled out. Even when the aspects or dimensions of Karma, with its theodicy, were accepted, the stipulation of social transformation through effort could not be excluded from its operational field. The Karma theory was a theory of action which was independent of the latter, again, the effort and the guidance of the enlightenment could be attuned to the causal and acausal factors, into a powerful force to change the existing social system through a phase of its exploitative and oppressive social system. Such a forceful example of change man and



The scientist is also a seer

Our ancient sages had penetrated the deepest mysteries of life. Many of their observations are now being confirmed by the advances in modern science.

Ramadhar

It was obvious that the Vedas were not compiled as the sacred books of an organised religion. They gradually emerged from a way of thinking at the riddle of life and existence in an obscure period of history. Of course, they also contained a mass of contradictory and complicated details about how human beings could organise their individual and collective life, in conformity with the laws of nature, the latter itself being the network, or part, of a vaster system operating from behind the visible scene as the causal force of its own causal dimen-

This immense variety of Vedic literature developed slowly in the course of time. It may have taken even thousands of years to take its present form. The Upanishads were its culmination, forming its apex. It was not easy to assign a definite period in human history to the emergence of this hoary tradition. The learned have speculated a great deal on the issue but when one looked at the question carefully, one found that it was hardly relevant whether this body of literature was created five, ten or fifty thousand years before. Its spirit, its essence, transcended space-

This great body of literature did not be described as solely the product of the human intellect. It was, perhaps, more accurate to say that it was a mixed work, partly the product of the human mind and partly the result

realisation of the non-  
existence, animating  
sustaining life. Within this  
realisation of human  
life, both individual and  
collective, no concept of social  
justice in favour of improving  
the quality of life on this plane,  
was ruled out. Even when  
aspects or dimensions of  
the Law of Karma, with its  
causality, were accepted  
and the stipulation of social  
transformation through  
action could not be ex-  
cluded from its operational field,  
the Karma theory was  
one of action which was  
independent of  
any other  
approach.  
The latter, again  
under the guidance  
of the enlight-  
ened, could be attuned to  
the causal and acausal  
aspects and transformed  
into a powerful  
force to change the existing  
conditions in a society which  
was passing through a phase  
of its exploitative  
social system.  
Such a forceful  
action to change man and



**A TRADITION TO TREASURE:** The Tree of Life, symbolising the creative forces.

of the intuitive mystic vision of the ancient Aryan sages which transcended the thought patterns projected by the intellect. In a way, this tradition could be attributed to a mode of life which was deliberately designed to ensure that causality, operating at the level of duality, did not over-

look, ignore or forget its non-dual acausal source; nor did the latter's vast and staggering reality overwhelm, or trifle with, the former which could have disastrous consequences for life on this planet.

It was clear to those sages that to the human mind, itself a pro-

duct of causality, the relationship between the latter and the non-dual acausal source would appear paradoxical, for it could not comprehend and explain the immeasurable acausal reality to itself in causal terms. This naturally gave birth to an immense variety of symbolic media consisting of

particular, one of the most startling findings of modern physics was that the observed phenomena, in any given situation in the cosmos, were not independent of the observer! There was no way of separating them. Thus, according to the latest discoveries of science, everything in the creation was integrated together making it appear like a vast maze of interpenetrating interconnections and interrelations in an extraordinarily skillfully designed web from which nothing could be excluded. This great vision of a totally unified whole, not in terms of a "great machine" but a "great thought" was startlingly close to the mystic vision of the sages concerning the totality of existence and the two now appeared to be upholding and supporting each other! This bewildering coincidence in the realm of the immensity of the universal reality, reminded one very poignantly of the Cosmic Vision ("Virat Swarup") with which Krishna confronted Arjuna in the Gita.

That was in the domain of the very large, the macro-cosmic aspect of creation. But the very

stract, indescribable, inexplicable and baffling phenomena, with paradoxical dimensions, inasmuch as they could assume the contradictory attributes of particles as well as of waves, depending how one looked at them, which, in the classical perception of them, excluded each other! Even light behaved in the same paradoxical manner, though light-particles were totally inconceivable. Here too one was led to believe that science was rushing headlong towards a trust with the mystic vision of reality beyond the frontiers of causality!

## Polluting Fumes

It was on such basis that one felt that the West's development, in terms of reason and rationality, according to the Cartesian-Newtonian paradigm, was a largely one-sided affair, which had assumed alarming proportions in the sense that although it could control the soft landings of spacecraft on far-off planets, it was unable to control the deadly polluting fumes emanating from its vehicles and factories! Such a realisation had dawned on science

whole world. If the holocaust came before science was able to make the "managers" of the world enlightened enough with its new holistic world-view, this planet itself might be blown to pieces which indeed was also a way of solving its baffling problems! However, if the world did manage to avoid such a terrible fate, it had a tremendously bright future before itself, which obviously would be the result of western science and eastern mysticism coming together.

In sum, the mystics and sages, Vedic and others, had penetrated the deepest mysteries of life and existence and recorded their inexplicable, intuitive vision and experiences in their own way which has filtered through the past ages to us as a profound and powerful tradition. The same was now being confirmed by the advancement of modern science in all its facets. If the process continued without any let or hindrance, the day could not be far off when some of the great scientists, in addition to having their professional competence, would bloom into great mystics!



## A Thought for The Week

The woman who is known only through a man is known — HENRY ADAMS

# Women On The March

Ideas travel and spread remarkably fast. And some ideas acquire an unshakeable hold on our minds. Equality and justice are two such ideas. They have shaped what we call the western civilization and we are now busy reshaping our various eastern civilizations in accordance with what we understand by these terms. It is, of course, not easy to define either equality or justice. But that only appears to add to their appeal. For everyone can interpret them as he or she likes. On the face of it, these diverse, often conflicting, interpretations should cancel out one another and render the concepts ineluctable. But that has not happened in the West and that is not happening in our region. Equality and justice have seized hold of us and are pushing us we do not quite know where. It is as true of women libbers as of trade unionists or nationalists or passionate proponents of other causes.

Modern India is a product of ideas and ideals and movements inspired by them. That is why governments have been more than willing to enact the most progressive legislations. Our labour laws are, for example, among the most liberal in the world. Similarly, while several western European countries have yet to implement "equal pay for equal work" in respect of women, Indian women have not faced any such discrimination. But appetite, as they say, grows with eating. This is especially true of social movements. The perceived gap between the real and the ideal does not diminish; it widens. Grievances grow as they are redressed. Several factors operate in these cases. Let us take the example of educated Indian women. They have multiplied manifold in recent decades. This phenomenon is itself a result of a social revolution and it has inevitably become a significant force in that on-going revolution. It is an open-ended process and no one is in command. It is moving as it were its own momentum which momentum is gathering speed. While we can applaud it or condemn it, we cannot make much reference to it. Forces beyond our control are at work.

Like all ideologues, women libbers must look ridiculous many of us who are in their fifties and sixties. They tend to be sharp-tongued; they appear too self-righteous, rhetorical and argumentative; they are often too well heeled to look like representatives of Indian women. But they represent genuine and growing constituency (the constituency of educated working women) even if members of that constituency themselves find them too aggressive. Educated working women have genuine problems and they are seeking and will continue to seek solutions to these problems, solutions which accord with their new perceptions of themselves. Islamic fundamentalists are proposing and, wherever possible enforcing, a solution to this problem. The chances are that they will not succeed in the long run. If they do, the price is likely to be intolerably high. In any case, that solution is not open to us in India. We are firmly set on the road to a modern and essentially secular society. This society will be very different from anything and our forbears have known.

The past is pertinent: Or else, like the Iranians, we too could be trying to push our women behind the purdah. It is a will remain an important element in determining the place of Indian women in our society. But it is only one of the important elements. Western education, science and technology are transforming realities and attitudes on a scale and at a speed unheard of ever before in human society. In the new context, it is not particularly significant to revive old controversies. Man and woman are, of course, biologically different; their endowments are different; and their intrinsic capacities are different. But in that fundamental sense they will remain different. But it is discussion of the differences has not been and is not valueless. These values were determined by social needs. These needs have changed and are changing on account above all of new technologies. So the values will change. All in all we are in a flux. We cannot even guess where we shall land.

body, becomes hot and feverish and the seeker feels a burning sensation all over. To the left is the ida nadi, or the moon channel. If the prana rises through the channel the body feels cold

trouble, then a yogic process called neti has to be employed in order to ensure balanced breathing through both the nostrils. (More about neti in due course). So let us start. Breathe in a

# It takes mo

Continued from Page 1

lege hospital stays in a hostel since her husband is working in Siwan as a teacher. "Whenever he visits Patna we have to take a room in a hotel to be together." Her son lives with her mother in Muzaffarpur. If she resigns it will block her career prospects as she hopes to be promoted as an assistant matron soon. From the hostel to setting up her own home is only a matter of time. From one working shift, she now gets saddled with two. Pregnancy follows soon after.

Surprisingly many managements would rather not employ women since there is every likelihood of their getting pregnant and then requiring maternity leave. They then feel all their training and resources would have been spent in vain. Some managements do not even provide maternity benefits. And those that do, find loopholes to wrangle through.

According to Ahilya Rangekar, the veteran CPM and CITU activist: "There are hundreds of cases of maternity benefits being denied to women workers which are still pending before the courts. Also, in many cases, employers prefer to hire 29 women, one short of the minimum number stipulated for setting up a creche."

Let alone private organisations, even a public body like the Bombay Municipal Corporation is insensitive to the needs of pregnant women. Said one of their sweepers, "during the early stages of pregnancy there are no concessions made for morning sickness". Right upto the final trimester she must continue weather-beaten to sweep the streets, handling foul-smelling, nauseous garbage. Once the baby comes there is some relief — the three months of maternity leave.

Once the children come, many women contemplate taking a few years off to bring them up, hoping that with their job experience they will be able to get back into circulation with ease. But this is not possible in all professions.

Speaking of engineering, Chandrakala Baliga, a senior electrical engineer working in Bombay, says that since the field is so competitive, a few years out of touch



sure as far as domestic responsibilities go."

"The children of working women become independent responsible at an earlier age," observes Arati Das, a school teacher from Pune "but, she says, "if the child is made to feel neglected, it could have adverse psychological effects."

With school-going children, mother is as good as working a third shift. After all, it is who is expected to take interest in educating and looking after the child. Even if she falls sick and she has an office meeting to attend, it is and not her husband who

"Men are strange — when you don't have a man, they say you should get one, when you get a man, they are constantly harassing you if you are a minute late in reaching home," exclaims a sweeper from Delhi.

with the subject and one is left way behind. There are new developments taking place all the time.

Paradoxically, being away for the whole day, returning home exhausted from a hard day's work, many mothers experience a strong feeling of guilt. They feel the children might resent their absence. Relatives and in-laws make it worse by endorsing that guilt. The father, of course, gets away lightly. Aren't they his children too? Why must it

However, the blood vessels circulating blood to the brain remain open.

What is more, the vertebrae and the nerves which connect

pected to take leave to raise a child.

For all that is expected of a woman in the home, her work is seldom acknowledged. Her attitudes at work are not valued. Reporting to a superior is one's senior is difficult for a man to accept.

Kalyani Gandhi, a Bangalore-based psychologist who has done a study of working women, says that generally men do not value the authority of a woman in the perspective of her capabilities.

We shall continue our study of the locks and the awakening as we progress series.

## Rep

HAVING pinched two or three days for bringing back down and rustle Indian nation-state perhaps to conclude looking at the depth and detail of the problem so far. And the remedy will be a remedy for the malady afflicting the police at the Centre as well as the para-diagnosed in history.

The point of departure admits of no doubt. The bitter truth is that the law, the constitutional relationship between power who must and go and the person is unfortunately alienation and reality. No has not been easy to find the electorate the people must make policy which is implemented by irremovable bureaucracy in accordance with the not in furtherance of or person ends. C pernicious political administration gone so deep that it is supposed to keep regardless of who is dangerously close

## Grievous We

Ironically, the syndrome well in the initial phase even though of partition that ecstasy of freedom grievous wounds of due to Jawahar believed in being in every respect keen to graft on the the best of the British liberal value this undertaking he fact that his colleagues were generally at one states too, were leaders as Pandit Pant Dr B.C. Roy, Dr Sri Krishna Panditji's values are Moreover, the IC throughout the freedom "loadies" but invite independence to join building a new India occasion. Their striking across all mutual jealousies which is as rare in of bureaucracy today air in any metropolis

However, even though were not entirely free was in Dr B.C. Roy instance, that a protest against political interference incidents were a general rule By and advice freely and from inhibited from dis-retaries and inspectors police were not a new chief minister though at that time changed far less now.

The rot began in



# Republic's Infrastructure Reform Brooks No Delay

By INDER MALHOTRA

HAVING pinpointed, in the preceding fortnight, the imperative need for bringing back to life the badly run-down and rusted infrastructure of the Indian nation-state, it will be useful perhaps to conclude the discussion by looking at the problem in greater depth and detail than has been possible so far. And the prescription of the remedy will be rendered easier if the malady afflicting the civil services and police, at the Centre and the states, as well as the para-military forces is diagnosed in historical perspective.

The point of departure for this purpose admits of no gloss being put on it. The bitter truth is that, like parliamentary democracy and equality before the law, the concept of a balanced relationship between the politicians in power who must, by definition, come and go and the permanent civil service is unfortunately alien to Indian tradition and reality. No wonder then that it has not been easy to enforce the doctrine that the elected representatives of the people must confine themselves to make policy which should then be implemented by an impartial and irremovable bureaucracy, strictly in accordance with the law and the rules, not in furtherance of anyone's partisan or personal ends. On the contrary, the pernicious politicisation of the administration and the police has gone so deep that the structure that is supposed to keep the republic going, regardless of who is elected to power, is dangerously close to collapse.

## Grievous Wounds

Ironically, the system worked rather well in the initial years of independence even though the savage surgery of partition that accompanied the ecstasy of freedom had inflicted grievous wounds on it. This was largely due to Jawaharlal Nehru who believed in being meticulously correct in every respect and was extremely keen to graft on the Indian way of life the best of the western, especially British, liberal values and norms. In this undertaking he was helped by the fact that his colleagues at the Centre were generally at one with him and the states too, were run by such tall leaders as Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, Dr B.C. Roy, Mr B.G. Kher and Dr Sri Krishna Sinha, who shared Panditji's values and objectives.

Moreover, the ICS officers, decried throughout the freedom struggle as "toadies" but invited on the morrow of independence to join the adventure of building a new India, also rose to the occasion. Their strongest point, cutting across all frailties, including mutual jealousies, was *esprit de corps* which is as rare in the higher reaches of bureaucracy today, as pollution-free air in any metropolitan city.

However, even those halcyon days were not entirely free from fiction. It was in Dr B.C. Roy's West Bengal, for instance, that a civilian resigned in protest against what he called undue political interference. But such stray incidents were exceptions to the general rule. By and large, the civil servants were encouraged to give their advice freely and frankly, rather than inhibited from doing so. Chief secretaries and inspectors-general of police were not changed every time a new chief minister took over even though at that time chief ministers changed far less frequently than now.

The rot began in the second half of

the fifties. The dynamics of adult suffrage had something to do with it. Newer groups, besides western-oriented gentlemen, joined the political process. This was a good thing. But it also catapulted into power men wholly innocent of Panditji's value system and indeed unwilling to abide by it even when its merits were explained to them.

In next to no time, Mr Pratap Singh Kairon in Punjab and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed in Kashmir became pastmasters in the art of suborning the bureaucracy to their own purpose through a skilful mixture of bullying and blandishments. Inevitably the contagion began to spread elsewhere. But the process was mercifully slow.

Moreover, New Delhi was then a haven of refuge for upright civil servants or police chiefs in trouble in Chandigarh, Srinagar or other state capitals until, in the wake of the political instability ushered in by the 1967 general elections, the number of those in need of refuge became very large. By now caste, apart from politics, had become in several states not only a criterion for promotion and favouritism but also a bond between the overbearing ministers anxious to bend the bureaucrats to their will and the obsequious civil servants only too anxious to do their bidding.

The Kairon-Bakshi culture started infecting the Centre as the crisis within the Congress that led to the split of 1969 developed and the likes of late Lalit Narayan Mishra suddenly became very powerful. Commitment, regrettably, became the cover for this degeneration.

The rest of the dismal story may be too recent and too well known to need recounting at length. But one important, indeed critical, fact must be underlined. The kind of political culture that prevailed between 1969 and 1974 would have had the most unfortunate repercussions on the morale, cohesion and efficacy of the bureaucracy and the police anyhow. But the decline was still slow and capable of being corrected because concerned voices against the dispiriting trend had begun to be raised. But the proclamation of the emergency changed all that. Behind the dark curtain of censorship, there was a quantum jump in the downhill slide to which no one has put a stop to this day.

## Dismal Story

It was during the emergency that administrators and policemen were divided into "loyal" sheep and "doubtful" or "untrustworthy" goats and treated accordingly. In the past, unwanted officers used to be eased out; since the emergency, the standard practice has been to harass, hound and humiliate them.

In 1977, the country expected that the emergency's nightmare would be quickly made a thing of the past and India's government run as any democratic set-up should be. But this turned out to be a vain hope. On the contrary and ironically, in relation to the bureaucratic morale at least, the 1977-80 period turned out to be no better than the emergency era. So obsessed was the Janata government with vengeance against Indira Gandhi and those she had relied on during the emergency that it lost all balance. A different set of IAS and IPS were now pilloried while the "victims" of the emergency were lionised. At one stage, in many places in the country, half the

police force was busy investigating the conduct of the other half. And it was the Janata government that perpetrated the outrage of arresting, on trumped up charges which were later withdrawn, so outstanding a civil servant as Mr B.B. Vohra.

If the Janata failed to do the right thing by the instruments and institutions on whose healthy functioning depends the preservation of the Indian republic so did Mrs Gandhi after her return to power in 1980. Indeed, her failure was less explicable and more distressing.

For history had given her an opportunity to correct past errors, bring about the much-needed national reconciliation and set the ship of state, tossed by malignant waves for too long, on an even keel. It is futile to discuss now why she failed to seize this golden opportunity and continued to run the administration almost exclusively on the basis of "loyalty", giving short shrift even to the most competent and honest officials and putting in crucial places men who had no other quality to boast of except pliability and some of whom were in fact individuals of proven incompetence.

## Important Point

The moral of this melancholy tale is clear, indeed stark. Unless the hitherto relentless trend towards playing ducks and drakes with the bureaucracy and the police is reversed and vigorous efforts are made to return to the Nehruvian pattern, disaster lies ahead. The impetus from taking the remedial action must come from political authority at the top which means from Mr Rajiv Gandhi. And the time for taking the initiative is now. Each day's delay can be very costly at a time when the republic is surrounded by grave threats—internal and external—and there are ominous whispers about an impending attempt to disrupt the electoral process.

Even at the risk of stressing the obvious, it must be added that the natural leaders of the civil service and the police owe a duty to themselves and to the country to play their leadership role which they have not done for a hell of a long time.

Another seemingly small but, in fact, very important point must be made. Next only to loyalty, seniority appears to have become the main determinant of promotion over the years. Merit, suitability and expertise apparently do not matter. The result is that the bureaucracy has become a sort of escalator on which everyone rises to the top job often for a very short period.

One reason for this may be the general lack of faith in the country in the fairness of selection. But if half a dozen top civil servants cannot command the confidence of their peers and juniors, they should be sacked anyhow.

As for the police, the National Police Commission has made some excellent recommendations to ensure both efficiency and fairness. These should not be rejected merely because the commission was appointed by the Janata government or its composition was not to the liking of today's ruling party.



D

ONL  
Ode  
can fail  
gravity of  
nation-sta  
diabolica  
and exter  
believe th  
Indira G  
tion are go  
The more  
already p  
effrontery  
present P  
of the ver  
any dem  
exposed to  
five weeks

The su  
fragile an  
understan  
the Sikhs  
dless and  
capital an  
the wake  
so far bee  
in the nam  
by forces  
communi  
whole

### Agonising

This ho  
problem.  
illustrated  
terrorists  
operate sti  
of two po  
plicity wit  
who attac  
undertrial  
selves. So  
sion not  
elections  
Assum.

The mo  
should pa  
position to  
move aim  
tabilising  
the fabric  
agonising  
whether th  
protecting  
the India  
badly rust  
sharpened  
cope with  
challengin

The an  
depend o  
the skill w  
and his ad  
rebuilding  
cle on th  
republic's  
infrastructure  
services. t  
lligence o  
forces and

Nothing  
than to arg  
the throes  
reform of  
police, eve  
have to wa  
of the new  
end. Becau  
the countr  
cupied wit  
necessary  
lishment  
enough ar  
with any e  
Even in  
1971, so c  
absorption  
nobody in

channel the body feels cold So let us start. Breathe in a and the nerves wh



# Dangers And Tasks Ahead

## Republic's Rusted Instruments

By INDER MALHOTRA

ONLY the most naive or those determined to delude themselves can fail to perceive the immense gravity of the dangers that the Indian nation-state continues to face from diabolically inimical forces, internal and external. It will be an act of folly to believe that those who masterminded Indira Gandhi's dastardly assassination are going to sit idly on their hands. The more brazen of them have, in fact, already proclaimed, with intolerable effrontery, that their next target is the present Prime Minister who, because of the very nature of electioneering in any democracy, is bound to be exposed to vast crowds during the next five weeks.

The surface calm in Punjab is fragile and could prove deceptive. The understandable resentment among the Sikhs in that state against the mindless and deplorable carnage in the capital and other cities and towns in the wake of Indira's brutal slaying has so far been kept in check. But it could, in the name of "revenge", be exploited by forces out to harm both the Sikh community and the country as a whole.

### Agonising Question

This, however, is only one part of the problem. The other, no less grim, is illustrated by the ease with which the terrorists in Punjab seem able to operate still almost at will. The arrests of two policemen for alleged complicity with the gun-toting extremists who attacked a bus and freed four undertrial prisoners speak for themselves. So does the government's decision not to hold parliamentary elections there to say nothing of Assam.

The moral of all this is not that we should panic but that we must be in a position to forestall and frustrate every move aimed at disrupting and destabilising this country or tearing apart the fabric of national unity. The agonising question, however, is whether the various instruments for protecting, preserving and developing the Indian state which have become badly rusted over the years, can be sharpened fast enough to be able to cope with the grim dangers and challenging tasks ahead.

The answer to this question will depend, of course, on the speed and the skill with which Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers and aides embark on rebuilding what was called in an article on this page last week, the republic's dangerously run-down infrastructure, consisting of the civil services, the police, including intelligence organisations, para-military forces and so on.

Nothing will be more disastrous than to argue that with the country in the throes of nation-wide elections, the reform of the administration and the police, even if long overdue, would have to wait until after the formation of the new government by the year-end. Because all political parties and the country in general will be preoccupied with the polls, it is all the more necessary that the permanent establishment should be both vigilant enough and effective enough to deal with any eventuality that might arise.

Even in the halcyon days of early 1971, so complete was this country's absorption with the elections that nobody in New Delhi had the time or

the inclination to heed the discreet cries of distress emanating from Dhaka. The result was that when the Bangladesh crisis blew up on March 25, 1971, there was not even a contingency plan for coping with it. The consequences of such casualness in today's circumstances, the like of which free India has never before witnessed, are too terrible even to contemplate.

As was stated in the previous article, the topmost priority has to be given to making the Prime Minister's security fool-proof and knave-proof. Hasty replacement of the Delhi police personnel by the sharp-shooting commandos of the SFF can at best be a stop-gap arrangement, not a permanent solution. And while the organisation responsible for the Prime Minister's security must function independently, not under the Intelligence Bureau (IB), as has been the case so far, it must have the fullest support of both the IB which alone can spot potential security risks, and the RAW, which as the agency in charge of external intelligence has to keep an eye on international terrorists and others operating from abroad, and more particularly, from across the border in Pakistan.

It is nobody's case that in respect of the Sikh extremists and their foreign mentors and supporters, the IB and the RAW have proved totally useless. At the same time the very fact that Indira Gandhi could be killed by those of her bodyguards who were making no bones about their feelings and were giving other causes for suspicion underscores the enormity of their failure.

### Enormity Of Failure

In any case, even if the tragedy of Indira Gandhi's assassination had not befallen the country, the failings and shortcomings of the IB and the RAW would have been heart-rending enough. Like the bulk of the country's administration, the intelligence agencies have also been at sixes and sevens. But some ailments are peculiar to the intelligence outfits because of the sensitive nature of their work and the dark curtain of secrecy behind which they must operate.

One or two problems concerning the intelligence network may be disposed of before coming to grips with what ails the infrastructure as a whole all along the line. The task of overseeing the intelligence agencies is admittedly crucial. Even at the best of times, the three-man senior intelligence board was not the best instrument for this purpose consisting as it did of Mr R.N. Kao, the then senior adviser (security) in the cabinet secretariat, and two extremely overworked top officials, Mr Krishnaswamy Rao Saheb, cabinet secretary, and Dr P.C. Alexander, principal secretary to the Prime Minister. With Mr Kao's resignation, the board does not exist. Nothing has been done so far to fill the vacuum.

Similarly, while abrupt and arbitrary removal or transfer of important functionaries in any branch of administration is bound to cause havoc, in terms of morale, cohesion, discipline and efficacy, the damage is much the greater in the case of intelligence in the very nature of things.

And this brings one to the core of the

problem—the massive and malign consequences of the increasing politicisation of the bureaucracy, the police and the para-military organisations. The armed forces have mercifully been left well alone which should explain why they remain highly professional and in excellent trim.

Indeed, they are now being called upon, day after day, in place after place, to undertake tasks which ought to be strictly the responsibility of the civilian agencies only. This is a dangerous trend and, if allowed to continue unchecked, is bound to have its own pernicious fall-out. To reverse the trend, however, it is necessary that the institutions, now sapped of their strength, are restored to a reasonable state of health.

The main initiative and impetus for this purpose must come from the political leadership. Without a return to the system which, by and large, worked before the imposition of the internal emergency in June 1975 but has been relentlessly eroded since, under both the Congress rule and Janata reign, the country would be in serious trouble.

However, while the primary responsibility for the existing state of affairs lies on the politicians, the civil servants and the top cops themselves are not wholly free of blame. Far too many of them have been content to coast along when they have not actively entered into cosy collusion with the politicians on the make. Their conduct and performance must also improve. India needs today what during the British Raj used to be called the "steel frame". A scaffolding of broken reeds painted a steel-grey simply will not do.

In view of the foregoing it is encouraging that at his first meeting with the secretaries to the Union government, Mr Rajiv Gandhi adopted a constructive approach. He told them that he wanted to listen to them rather than lecture to them. He also emphasised that he did not want departmental reports but a discussion on the wider problems of the civil service. Unfortunately, none of his interlocutors took the cue: the Prime Minister was bombarded with information viewed through narrow, departmental blinkers. He was told all about "single window" industrial licensing, the state of foreign exchange reserves, approach to the Seventh Plan, text-book reforms and so on.

### Cruel Paradoxes

Undue and damaging political interference with the administration is not the only thing that must end forthwith. So must the hitherto ceaseless caste war in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy, with almost all other services solidly arrayed against the IAS, seen by them to be much too pampered and powerful. This situation is not without exquisite irony, however.

The Indian police service is perhaps the loudest in condemning the IAS "supremacy". And yet the IPS deputationists, by their aggressive self-aggrandisement vis-a-vis direct recruits to the IB and the RAW, have virtually reduced these two critical organisations to a shambles. Who says India is not a land of cruel paradoxes.



**W**

The leaders of Rani of Jhansi, quondam Minister, people of north the form of bread, the staple man. But there Mutiny was planned by leaders or that any specific measure.

Lord Cannan, a small cloud left and most of his with the idea come as a bolt few warning gales the storm. There the Mutiny: they but not in essence attempted a coup against the sales against the sales Midnapore and measured their

against bullets and of their feudal rigour feature marked —dislike of the ex-

Nor were the troops civil population only signs of restlessness and not only the more dependability evidence of indiscipline propensities. They had assumed a

and it had been put into effect. When Lord Dalhousie the atmosphere

Mainuddin Hasan, a fishman forgot the the Indian psychology was nothing

ment from its st command placed at the point that the very

al sentiment, for sion; only a few influenced by there stretched over the East

of the indigenous rulers of the lawab of the

nd Orissa the or charter of native talent

ambition still the dual government the Company country.



# The 'Mutiny' Reconsidered

SURENDRA NATH SEN gives the first of three talks

**W**HEN the Mutiny broke out it was strongly suspected that there was a country-wide conspiracy behind it. The entire sepoy army was, according to a preconcerted plan, to rise simultaneously on an appointed day at an appointed hour. The leaders of this conspiracy included Nana Sahib of Bithur, the quondam Minister of Oudh. Their message was circulated among the people of northern and central India in the form of chapatty, or unleavened bread, the staple food of the common man. But there is no evidence that the Mutiny was planned by any disaffected leaders or that the chapatty conveyed any specific meaning to its recipients.

Lord Canning's rhetoric about a small cloud left a lasting impression and most of his countrymen ran away with the idea that the Mutiny had come as a bolt from the blue. But a few warning gales had indeed preceded the storm. There were mutinies before the Mutiny: they differed in magnitude but not in essence. Velu Thampi attempted a *coup d'état* in Travancore, the primitive Santals rose in protest against the sales law, the Chuars of Midnapore and the Paiks of Orissa measured their swords and spears against bullets and bayonets in defence of their feudal rights, and one common feature marked all these outbreaks—dislike of the existing order.

Nor were the troubles limited to the civil population only. The army betrayed signs of restlessness, more than once and not only the indigenous sepoy but the more dependable white troops gave evidence of indiscipline and mutinous propensities. The mutiny at Vellore had assumed alarming proportions and it had been preceded by a white mutiny. When Lord Canning came to India the atmosphere was surcharged with distrust and discontent. Mainuddin Hasan hit the nail on the head when he said that the Englishman forgot that he was a foreigner in India. He did not understand the Indian psychology and the Indian misunderstood his motives. There was nothing common between the rulers and the ruled. A foreign government from its very nature fails to enlist popular support; it cannot command passive obedience and that obedience has to be exacted at the point of the sword. The English rulers failed to recognize the very existence of their government was an affront to national sentiment. Luckily for them India was still a geographical entity; only a few educated Indians in the metropolitan cities were influenced by national concepts, and between them and the rural population there stretched a wide gulf of intellectual difference.

Over the East India Company at first affected to act as the protector of the indigenous powers. They did not immediately stand forth as rulers of the land. In the south they ruled apparently on behalf of the Nawab of the Carnatic. In the three eastern provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa their power was derived, in theory at least, from a charter of the Emperor of Delhi. They still continued to recognize native talent in the administration of law and justice, and ambition still found a congenial outlet in the service of the dual government could not continue for ever and the East India Company had to assume openly the responsibilities of a country. There followed a social and economic revolution

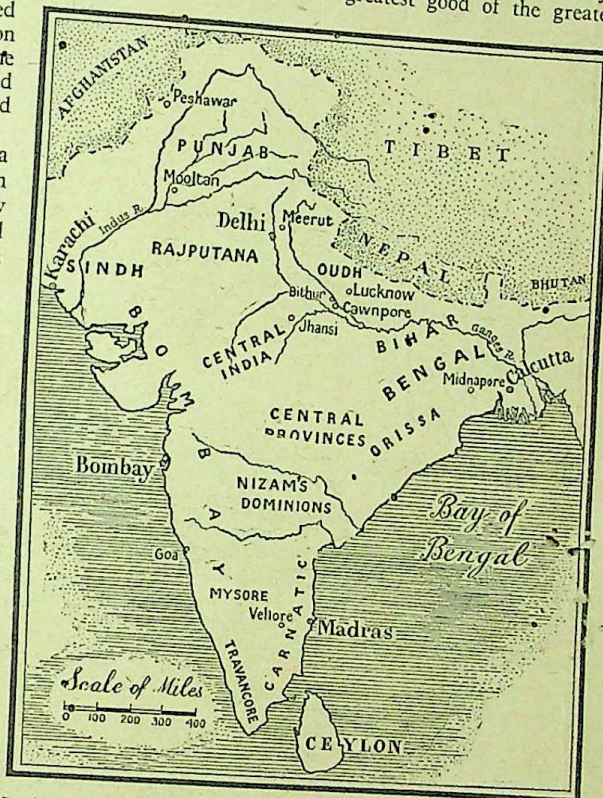
that affected the entire population under their government. The English rulers naturally looked to their own country for a model of good government. They could not be blamed if they were influenced in their revenue policy by Ricardo and not by Todarmal. They could not of course think of implanting democratic institutions in an oriental country but they subscribed to the Benthamite ideal of the greatest good of the greatest number, which in their view was not inconsistent with a despotic government. The missionary had long been excluded from the Company's territories, but with the advent of the evangelists a policy of religious neutrality was no longer practicable. The government as such did not commit itself to the propagation of the Gospel but its more devout servants could not ignore Christ's injunction to render unto God what was God's.

Thus were the Indian masses confronted with a western invasion which threatened everything they cherished. The land settlement of Bird and Thomason deprived the landed nobility of their ancestral estates; the sales law and the complicated judicial system, in which professional lawyers played the leading role, placed the simple peasant at the mercy of the crafty money-lender. Excessive assessment harassed landlord and tenant alike. The learned classes, both Hindu and Muslim, lost their vocation and the social reforms of the liberal regime shocked orthodox opinion. The native States, the last asylum of the older order, were annexed one by one and a feeling of frustration pervaded all classes of society.

It was at this crisis that the slender link of social communion that formerly existed between the English and the Indian gradually disappeared. In the early days of the Company the Governor General behaved as a peer of the country. He kept himself in close association with the aristocracy of the land. The high-ranking Englishman had his Indian titles and conformed to Indian etiquette. But gradually a spirit of exclusiveness intervened. The Englishman was no longer prepared to meet the Indian nobles on terms of equality and the Indian, offended by unmerited discourtesy, retired within his shell. The result was that the government lost all touch with public opinion.

This was probably inevitable. When a small minority rules over an overwhelming majority it must assume an air of moral and intellectual superiority and form itself into an exclusive caste. That was what the Brahman had done in the days of old and the British were playing the part of white Brahmans. While the Brahmans had demanded separate laws for themselves the British expected special privileges. Even the meanest of them had to hold his own against the best of the Indians or the spell would be lost and the alien minority would be swamped by mere pressure of numbers. There was no other choice. But social exclusiveness produced in course of time racial arrogance which could not but alienate the indigenous population. Its reaction on the Indian army was still more deplorable.

A despotic government derives its strength mainly from its army. In the Indo-British army the indigenous element vastly predominated. The white core was comparatively small and could not be quickly reinforced in an emergency. The sepoy was a confessed mercenary.



India at the time of the Mutiny, which took place 100 years ago



MAY 30 1957

THE L

## The Indian Mutiny—III

## The Muslims and

By A. R.

THE question whether the great Indian uprising of 1857 was simply a military mutiny or whether in fact it was a war of independence was keenly debated in the past and is today as warmly contested in both India and Pakistan. I do claim that I shall settle that controversy here but I hope that a discussion of the role of the Muslims in that situation will throw some light on the issue. For a start, this means probing into the Muslim mind before the 'mutiny'.

The history of the Indian Muslims during the formative period of the British Empire in India is the history of a community aware of its former political greatness and of its gradual decay, fighting desperately an unequal battle against the unfavourable circumstances brought about by a changed political situation. If I briefly survey the economic consequences of the loss of political power by the Muslims and the effects of the East India Company's policies upon the community's life it will, I hope, make the point clear.

During Muslim rule the conquering Muslim aristocracy had claimed all the higher, more lucrative appointments in the government—in the army, in the revenue administration and in the judicial and political services. The monopoly of army command was first to go, as a natural consequence of the loss of political power: and for those who had commanded or served in the armies of the princes there was no place in the Company's armies, where Indians were reduced 'to the dead-level of common soldiering'.

The management of land revenue, under Muslim governments, had also been the preserve of the Muslim aristocracy. But by farming the revenues to the highest bidder Warren Hastings swept away some of the hereditary Muslim landlords. Other high Muslim officials, 'with their troopers and spearmen', who had supervised the actual collections, were replaced by English district officers, the Collectors. Then Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of 1793, with its unaccommodating sale laws, transferred the Lands of Bengal and Bihar in perpetuity to new zemindars and seriously damaged the position of the great Muslim houses. As one of the servants of the Company said: 'It elevated the Hindu Collectors, who up to that time held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Mussulmans under their own Rule'. The superior Muslim revenue officers and the actual owners of the land were thus displaced from their positions by the English and the Hindus.

The next great blow to the fortunes of the Muslim upper classes was dealt by the resumption proceedings of the Company. Under the Muslim governments it was common practice to reward worthy officers and persons of scholastic distinction or religious merit by grants of lands in lieu of salaries or pensions in cash. The Company doubted the genuineness of many such grants of rent-free lands and passed a series of laws between 1793 and 1828 for their review. In the actual operation of these laws great injustice was often done by ambitious officials, with extensive authority, who acted as both prosecuting officer and judge. The hasty and inequitable resumption of lands impoverished a large number of the Muslim families and destroyed some Muslim religious and educational foundations. This happened, it should be noted, after over sixty years of British rule when grantees had grown careless as to proofs in their long enjoyment of possessions. The accumulated penalty thus fell upon a single generation. When power and office were lost to



Bahadur Shah II, last  
whom the mutineers

slim community. It is possible their attempt to promote the overlooked the peculiar nature of the British administration. The Muslim of disloyalty and the apprehension of the early administrators, operation of the Hindus was the safest course to follow. In pursuit of the supposed gates of Somnath I cannot close my eyes to the fact that the Hindus' is fundamentally hostile to the Hindus'. Thus, although not deliberately planned by its officers and the fact that the disadvantage of the Muslims to the government.

## movements

pressures of the English and Hindu Wahabi movements—movements of economic and communal forces, Bengal the reform movement, economic and to some extent political. His ambitious son, Dudu Mian, in 1852 that Dudu Mian had a real object was generally thought rulers and the restoration of his transportation for the break of the Mutiny he was executed.

g considerable excitement in the masses. Infuriated by the oppression broke into revolt against them. Widened by his initial success against the British, he announced that 'the period of the British rule in India was like a dream, from whom the English had taken the Empire'. Titu fell fighting the ringleaders of the movement were deported or served with

and planned movement had led to the formation of Rai Bareilly. Starting as a religious war against the Sikhs in 1826, he took the title of Caliph, and the treachery of the Sikhs brought about his downfall. Political expediency had led to the British, from whom he had received a grant of land, to supply of men or money for the rebellion. The 'jihad' against the British was the Muslims' political, economic and large object of the movement.

by the British the Wahabis were a quarter of a century later the chief anti-British force in India. Lord Auckland's war against the Afghans, at the destruction of a Muslim state, joined the Afghans against the British. The 'jihad' against the British was the Muslims' political, economic and large object of the movement. The part of the Wahabis in the 1857 Mutiny was the 64th Light Infantry and 64th Light Infantry clearly showed that the overthrow of the 'infidel' government was at large on the problem of the supply of men and money for the rebellion. For by now India had become an enemy country, and a 'jihad' was necessary to leave the country, or to gain it back. The conviction that

money for the prosecution of this holy war. The conviction that



The votaries of Hare Krishna are searching for the new human civilization by interconnecting the most ancient wisdom and modern advances in science and technology.

Surindar Suri

several movements in-  
spired by Indian reli-  
gious traditions have come  
to the West during the  
decades. The Hare

...sect is probably the  
omprehensive among them  
likely to have a deeper  
than the others. In as-  
the trends, it is well to  
mind that the inter-  
of Indian philosophies  
religious faiths with the  
societies has a respect-  
necessity. From the late  
century onwards, the  
Sanskrit language and  
Indian philosophy and  
provided a turning  
Western scholarship and

What excited the excellence of the literary and philosophical attainments of ancient India was that the ancient Indian civilization lay at the cradle of Europe's own history and culture. India was like the hinterland of modern Western civilization. Vulgar clichés, like the statement of Rudyard Kipling that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet", bespoke ignorance of the civilizational continuity between them.

was discovered by the  
sailors in their quest  
But the Indians whom  
settlers had to  
were native Ameri-  
who were pushed back  
American pioneers  
busy subduing nature  
tribes to bother much  
cultural or humane  
the struggle for survival  
and by the effort to ac-  
quaint and enjoy the  
material

prosperity.  
During War II, the chal-  
lenger, the U.S.A. was  
in a dominant position  
economically and  
possessed of  
power has a negative  
effect on human per-  
formance on the age-old question  
of meaning and purpose  
to haunt the well-  
to-do. The struggle for sur-  
vival for the post-  
war generation among the  
young cannot replace the  
care and affec-  
tion of the older generation  
respected for its  
winning mate-  
rial and gaining social  
status. There arose a con-



**BEYOND THE BODY:** Hare Krishna devotees at the Ratha Yatra in Delhi last year.

flict between the generations and family life tended to deteriorate. The young take material well-being too granted and expect something more from life. Counter-cultures begin to flourish. Drug addiction is a form of protest against the puritanical quest for material wealth. But some among the youth direct their search to the realm of ideas and

Swami in the U.S.A., where he arrived in 1965, he set up the first Hare Krishna centre in a store front in the Bowery district of New York city. In the late sixties one could watch young men and women performing Krishna dances in Greenwich Village park, the hippy centre of New York. Although they were rather amateurish in the

vision that Dr. Angela Burr, an anthropologist, teaching at the University of London, attempts to answer in her book. To be sure, the question is not simply an academic one. As we have seen, the interaction between Western societies and Indian religions and philosophies has a long history; the Hare Krishna movement is a new manifestation of the time-honoured trend. To be sure, there are personal reasons that bring individual devotees to the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (or ISKCON, for short), but there are social-historical forces that also guide them.

As explained by some of his leading followers, Prabhupada Swami had explained to them that America possessed powerful and well-trained muscles but weak eyes. In other words, the Americans were highly advanced in technology and organisational skill, but were deficient in respect of insight into human na-

**I Am Not My Body: A Study Of The International Hare Krishna Sect: By Angela Burr (Vikas, Rs. 150)**

beliefs. It is they who take to Indian cults, such as the Hare Krishna movement.

Abbe Charan De, born in Calcutta in 1892, declared that he had been selected by his guru, Bhaktisiddhanta Saraswati Thakura, "to bring Krishna Consciousness (as his teachings) are known in the movement) to the West." Known as Prabhupad

dancing, the youth showed a sense of freedom and commitment that impressed the on-lookers. At the time it would have been difficult to foresee that the Hare Krishna movement would expand rapidly to make its presence felt all over the U.S.A. and elsewhere.

• Why this rapid growth of the movement took place is the ques-



She has proved a politician of  
with genuine empathy  
for the human condition.

by Mulk Raj Anand

THERE is no doubt that Indira Gandhi has emerged as the leader of the Indian people and as a world "statesman" in her own right, even though when she came into politics, she had the legend of her illustrious father to support her credentials.

She has faced the problems of a country as big as Europe without Russia, through the challenges of absolute poverty of the people, and the growing demands of many different sections in our miscellaneous social setup. Aware of deprivations, through two hundred years of imperial exploitation, and thwarted development, she has proved to be a politician of courage, with genuine empathy for the human condition. She has tried to ameliorate the



A LEADER IN THE MAKING: Indira as a teenager.

gated engagements, from answering mail to meeting her colleagues and supplicants, sycophants and complainants.

In all this, she is able to keep abreast of world problems in her capacity as chairperson of the non-aligned movement, and inheritor of the almost consensus foreign policy, initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru, for peace, co-existence, and against the forces of war and disruption.

What is striking about her person, in coping with all her responsibilities, is her resilience.

Swraj Paul brings out, through the privilege of her friendship with him and his family, for some years, the humanness of Indira Gandhi.

### Touching Concern

For instance, when in London, she once received a telephone call from a young girl who had been hospitalised. Indira Gandhi had gone to bed after a tiring day. The sick girl turned up at the hotel. The P.M. dressed up and went down to receive the girl.

There are many touches of this kind in this photo-biography,

which reveals to many people, who are modest, simple, and human before sundry—even Charan Singh in jail.

Of course, the people to suspect the motive, because he is an enemy of a large international connections, with people including the communists.

Apparently, he has that, in spite of his commercial interests.

Swraj Paul, through intimate notes, how person she is.

She is committed to the economy of a public sector, as the only way Indira may become a society.

The images of her

Indira Gandhi: By Swraj Paul (The Heron Press, price not stated)

# The PM In Person

regularly of the poor, with her various programmes.

It is surprising for the surviving members of the generation before her, to see this lady, from a sheltered household, maturing through her love of people into a dynamic person, whom the people chose for prime ministership of the country in 1966, and, in spite of her lapses, alleged and real, during the emergency, again elected her to lead the government in 1981.

Swraj Paul, who is not a politician, but "the local boy who made good" (if this expression may be excused), began his contacts with her as a fan when Indira Gandhi visited London, some years ago.

### Human Qualities

Unconquering and inheriting the human qualities of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the most accessible Prime Minister in the world of his time, and, knowing of the self-aggrandising tendencies of the better off, she has sought to balance, albeit unsuccessfully, the interests of classes and masses.

Swraj Paul reveals, through intimate anecdotes, how personable a person she is.

Everyone knows that she meets hundreds of two hundred people every morning at her residence, to hear petitions, to inaugurate books, to offer sympathy to the aggrieved, the suffering and the benighted, before going to regulate the affairs of the state in South Block or Parliament House.

Awakening at 5.30 in the morning, she goes through a ten to twelve hour routine day, of variegated engagements, from answering mail to meeting her colleagues and supplicants, sycophants and complainants.



INTIMATE GLIMPSES: Mrs. Gandhi with grand-daughter Priyanka.

Awakening at 5.30 in the morning, she goes through a ten to twelve hour routine day, of variegated engagements from answering mail to meeting her colleagues and supplicants, sycophants and complainants.

both in India and abroad, been so distorted by the side-lights in the lives of the fables, and the position of a world statesman, the much delayed Circe."

THE SUN  
Lite  
A Na  
we look back on  
story of our land  
inspite of conqu  
oppression the  
joined together in  
the spirit, the high  
man. However, there  
today that the p  
deep disintegration  
in our midst. The  
our hopes for Ind  
The winds of  
which had a comm  
hated sweep the  
the noisy clam  
the interests see  
the still centre o  
the name of the ve  
which had a comm  
the quest of the self.  
and inhuman at  
committed as soon  
claims of one o  
against the other  
conceivable. Fear of  
among people of di  
has nurtured a ra  
growth of hatred, wh  
ending over what we  
might was our well-  
of many-coloured f  
desert of despair is  
And at the moment wh  
for a future India  
to take shape  
ourselves plunged into  
perhaps we, the new  
could not reconcil  
our new selves, to  
democracy we acc  
freedom. And it m  
even during the libe  
some of the leade  
Indian national move  
not unite in politics  
sectarian at heart  
acceptance by the bu  
people of the ritual  
of the v  
made them worship  
of religion more  
underlying ethos. Inspi  
Gandhi's equation  
against untoucha  
the struggle for free  
majority of Hindus hav  
casteist. We have  
the dangers of the  
of our main  
distorted by the  
of the Imperialist  
the perversion of rel  
politics has followed.  
are now reaping  
of weeds, which we  
allowed to grow by  
blind worship of ritu  
I do not wish to  
the original religion  
to question the right  
God, the prophets  
No one can gai  
dom of the Vedas,  
the Koran, the E  
Guru Granth Sahib.  
have been long period  
and moral stagna  
faiths in our past. C  
endemic to Hindu  
continued. The S  
K's became more  
than the teaching  
Nanak: "I am nei  
nor Muslim, I want  
of the efforts, of  
for our future generat



# Literary Supplement

## A Nation At The Crossroads

By Mulk Raj Anand

we look back on the long history of our land we find the spirit of conquest and oppression the people joined together in search of the higher self. However, there is no doubt today that the processes of disintegration are working in our midst. The flowers of our hopes for India are withered. The winds of violence have swept the country. The noisy clamour of interests seems to have lost the still centre of man's name of the very religion which had a common faith in the quest of the self. Ghastly and inhuman atrocities committed as soon as the claims of one community against the other become irreconcilable. Fear of each other, among people of different faiths, has nurtured a rank ungrowth of hatred, which is spreading over what we had thought was our well-tended garden of many-coloured flowers. A desert of despair is spreading. And at the moment when our future India were beginning to take shape, we have plunged into darkness.

Perhaps we, the new intelligentsia, could not reconcile ourselves, our new selves, to the democracy we accepted as freedom. And it may be even during the liberation struggle some of the leaders of the Indian national movement, who did not unite in politics, and who were sectarian at heart. The acceptance by the bulk of the people of the ritual and superstition of the various religions made them worship the gods of religion more than the underlying ethos. In spite of Gandhi's equation of religion against untouchability and the struggle for freedom, the majority of Hindus have remained casteist. We have forgotten the dangers of the false religion of our main religion, distorted by the alien religion of the Imperialist era, the perversion of religion into politics has followed. We are now reaping the fruits of weeds, which we ourselves allowed to grow by misguiding blind worship of ritual as religion. I do not wish to deny the original religion by which we questioned the right to God, the prophets and the Vedas. No one can gainsay the freedom of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Koran, the Bible and the Guru Granth Sahib. But there have been long periods of stagnation and moral stagnation in our past. Casteism, endemic to Hinduism, has continued. The Shias and the K's fought each other. The K's became more inimical than the teaching of the Quran: "I am neither a Jew nor a Muslim, I want to be a human being." The efforts of our future generations?

and what is useful as a guide to thought and action. The modern mind cannot take culture without criticism (devastating criticism), if the old is to be of value for the new. I feel that the attitude of many of us towards the past of India has so far been sentimental, as though we wished to take on the entire 3,000-years of ancient and mediaeval India. Thus often we seem to want to put the whole range of the Himalayas on our shoulders, whereas what we may really need are a few herbs found by our Rishi Munis to cure our mental sickness.

We know that for 2,000 years at least, in spite of the energetic protests of our saints, caste orthodoxy has corroded the foundations of our society. The "chosen race" complex of one Brahminical oligarchy after another suppressed the bulk of the people during the thousand years before the Buddha. And after his revolt, again the Brahmins succeeded in ousting the humanist doctrine preached by the Enlightened One, bringing the caste order more rigidly into operation through the Dharmashastras. In the early mediaeval period began the bitter wrangles of the two main religions. And these did not end, in spite of the various syntheses arrived at from time to time. Also, our country was broken up into fragments by the parochial feudal oligarchies, until a superficial unity was brought in by the British Raj

division of our country.

On the attainment of freedom, we inherited, beneath the genuine nationalism of the advance guard, a society with the hangovers of innumerable divisions, based on religious, racial and social snobbery—unconnected, disparate congeries of people, who could live in superficial tolerance as long as the age-old customs were not disturbed by the coming of opportunities for betterment under a Constitution based on fundamental human rights. As soon as these became available, the upper castes began to resent the emergence of Harijans as economic equals, the Muslim League re-emerged, the Hindu chauvinist groups like the RSS began to build private armies. The scheduled castes wished to pro-

politics divides people into distinct groups, co-existing in uneasy peace, watching to see who gets the bigger morsel.

The ruling intelligentsia, whose duty it was to analyse the causes of disruption has, until recently, lived in a curious daze. Wrapped up in new symbols of power and authority, it benignly contemplated all the nihilistic and negative forces working in its own ranks, gently told people not to do this or that, reluctantly threatened to impose penalties against wrongdoers, but remained benumbed by the vertical stratification of superior and inferior without emphasizing a new philosophy of life for the secular, democratic State, envisioned by Jawaharlal Nehru. Commercialists of all kinds

*"Our dilemma remains: are we to remain consigned to an ancient fatalism, accept caste orthodoxy, fight for power on the pretext of preserving language and religion? Or are we to become individuals in a new democratic order, growing towards self-perfection on the basis of the dignity of each human being and equal opportunities for all in an Insani Baradari, a humanist brotherhood?"*



Mulk Raj Anand

have lent themselves to the "get rich quick" gospel of the West and are not worried by the problem of national integration, because they can sell their goods well enough in a scarce economy. The egalitarian urge implicit in the planned economy are brushed aside by the monopolists, as being against human nature, and public enterprise is in the hands of bureaucrats providing no real alternative for production of goods and services. The Welfare State has been reduced to a myth and is dubbed doctrinaire socialism.

The intellectuals, who consider themselves above the battle, cynically shrug their shoulders and survive in a spiritually pleasing well of frustration. Certain sections, who can make clever phrases and prefer existentialist despair, are, by implication, superior, and the humanist thinkers are a lower species, supposedly concealed Communists. There is little contact between the literary men, the thinkers, and the scientists, as well as the ruling intelligentsia, because of the lack of a brains trust for discussing moot points of reconstruction, at the Centre, as well as in the various regions, to lay the basis of national integration, through criticism, active discussion and exchange of opinion.

The best among the intelligentsia

with its railways, revenue and long the special privileges, postal system, given for 10 years, in perpetuity. The new Imperial authority The languages of the various



## Tackling Communal Riots

At the western zonal council meeting at Gandhinagar last Saturday, the Union home minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, made the significant disclosure that the Centre is considering a proposal to ban religious processions which, in its view, are leading to more and more communal clashes in the country. For all those who have been shocked at the recent recrudescence of and escalation in the incidence of communal violence in several states, it is tempting to argue that a blanket ban on religious processions could go a long way in preventing or at least containing the outbreak of bloody riots. However, the proposal is fraught with a number of problems. Even if it could be enforced, a total and indiscriminate ban on religious processions or public celebrations would in many instances interfere with a local community's natural life and customs. It could, in certain cases, even cause an exacerbation of group conflicts and tensions. But the cardinal difficulty here lies in the very enforcement of such a ban. It is difficult to see how it can be enforced except in a highly selective, sparing and cautious manner, and that too on specific occasions in localities which are not only known to be riot-prone but actually on the verge of a major communal conflagration.

All this, however, is not to deny that there is need to control the conduct of religious processions and functions. Indeed, the need is both imperative and urgent. For, first, there is ample evidence to confirm the view that religious processions are increasingly turning into spectacular, loud and overawing celebrations or social events which have little to do with religious sentiments or genuine customs and rituals. In fact, entirely new forms are now emerging that have only distant link with the latter. Secondly, the vulgarisation and commercialisation of such celebrations is now growing at the same pace as their manipulation by cynical politicians, businessmen and criminals who consciously patronise them for commercial and other kinds of profit. The only way the state can help reverse the process—is by imposing some norms on the conduct of such events *against* society—and persuading the concerned communities not to allow the degeneration of a celebration into mob action. This calls for restraint in the use of, say, loudspeakers and their volume, for careful routing of processions, for the elimination of slogans or gestures that could antagonise other communities, and, generally, for sobriety in the processionists' behaviour. Measures such as these, and conscious attempts to break the nexus between religious functions and their communal manipulators could go a much longer way than a blanket ban. They are long overdue.

## Decline Re

THE decision to call the December 24 and 25 elections was welcomed even by those who had expressed fears because it has set at rest the ruling party's worries about the possibility of postponing them or changing the system. In the present phase, it has also been acclaimed as proof of a democratic institution strong enough to withstand a blow as the assassination of the Minister without showing undue strain.

Both these assessments are correct. But there is another aspect to the announcement of elections which only ignore at our peril. It is not being held in Assam. Viewed in its proper perspective, it is arguably of far greater importance than the holding of elections in India.

The decision to exclude Assam is being justified on grounds that the two states too disturbed a state to permit a free election to be held. A further reason is that the forces are already fully engaged in maintaining law and order in Delhi and elsewhere. To cope with the additional burden of Assam and the polling booths in Punjab.

### Fallacy

Even a moment's reflection reveals the fallacy of this argument. The government's capacity to maintain peace during the election was never in question. Then the police in two states could have been called in. This is a practical proposition. It followed the Himalayan constituencies were not bound in the winter. It could be extended to Punjab and which together account for 10 per cent of the vote.

Nor is the evidence that the state is highly disturbed in any way. A large number of contacts and soundings confirm that Punjab has remained peaceful after the death of Mrs Gandhi. In Assam too there has been no violent incident of any kind in the last three months. By this yardstick, the Delhi that the poll should be held and not in Punjab is what cannot be doubted is a fallacy. It does raise the political and often leads to clashes between the activists of the various parties. In Assam a non-party committee which submitted a report in September pinned the blame for the violence that rocked the state on the decision to hold the poll in February 1983. But against this it is a fact that the election of a few members of Lok Sabha will not generate an amount of conflict, a situation easily be kept under control by security arrangements for the poll.

The real significance of the decision to hold the poll in Punjab and Assam is that it shows the extent to which the government is committed to the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the accommodation of new demands have been made within Indian democracy. It is a matter of history that the process of self-build on the basis of a process of accommodation and tolerance India. The Mughals maintained its power and influence because the Mughals built a state which included



# Decline Of Indian Democracy

## Rejection Of Gandhian Legacy

By PREM SHANKAR JHA

Form No. 1  
PRESS C

THE decision to call an election on December 24 and 27 has been welcomed even by the opposition because it has set at rest the nagging fears expressed on countless occasions that the ruling party would use its two-thirds majority in Parliament to postpone the election or change the political system. In the present tense atmosphere it has also been widely acclaimed as proof that Indian democratic institutions are strong enough to withstand even so great a blow as the assassination of the Prime Minister without showing any signs of undue strain.

Both these assessments are valid. But there is another side to the announcement of election that we can only ignore at our peril. Elections are not being held in Assam and Punjab. Viewed in its proper perspective this is arguably of far greater significance than the holding of elections in the rest of India.

The decision to exclude Punjab and Assam is being justified on the grounds that the two states are in far too disturbed a state to permit an election to be held. A further refinement of this argument has it that the security forces are already fully stretched maintaining law and order in Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere. They cannot cope with the additional burden of doing so in Assam and at and around the polling booths in Punjab.

### Fallacy

Even a moment's reflection exposes the fallacy of this argument. If the government's capacity to maintain peace during the election was the only consideration, then the polls in these two states could have been deferred by a month. This is a practice that is regularly followed in the Himalayan constituencies that are snow-bound in the winter. Why can it not be extended to Punjab and Assam which together account for only 27 seats?

Nor is the evidence that these states are highly disturbed in any way conclusive. A large number of informal contacts and soundings confirm what the news agencies have been saying. Punjab has remained peaceful in the aftermath of Mrs Gandhi's death. Assam too there has been in all only one violent incident of any kind in the three months. By this yardstick it is Delhi that the poll should be postponed and not in Punjab.

What cannot be doubted is that electioneering does raise the political temperature and often leads to clashes between activists of the various political parties. In Assam a non-official party committee which submitted its report in September pinned the blame for the violence that rocked the state in January and February 1983 squarely on the decision to hold vidhan sabha elections. But against this it is a safe bet that the election of a few members to a Lok Sabha will not generate a large amount of conflict, and that the tight security arrangements in a poll.

The real significance of the exclusion of Punjab and Assam is that it goes to the extent to which the government is prepared to sacrifice the peaceful resolution of new demands have broken within Indian democracy. It is a matter of history that the Indian system was itself built on the basis of accommodation. The true not only of post-independence India. The Mughal rulers maintained its power and glory because the Mughal rulers built a durable

Rajput princes of northern and central India. It was only when Aurangzeb broke this consensus that the empire began to decay. Aurangzeb himself spent the 17 last years of his life away from Delhi and Agra, on a series of incessant campaigns to put down a seemingly unending series of revolts.

Thus when Mahatma Gandhi transformed the Congress into a nationwide freedom movement by co-opting a host of local movements for self-determination, he was re-establishing the only basis on which India has ever succeeded in governing herself. Gandhiji's political legacy to India contained not one but two invaluable components. Not only did he show us how to absorb new political forces as they emerge by accommodating them under the Congress umbrella, but he also laid out the blueprint by which these forces could reveal themselves, and demonstrate the extent of their support. The latter was the weapon of *satyagraha* and although the term itself has now fallen out of use, from the Dandi salt march to the Akal morcha, all political movements have used essentially this weapon to demonstrate their power.

The process of *satyagraha* followed by accommodation worked well so long as the Congress Party was able to absorb the new movements into itself and thereby increase its own popular base. But inevitably, as the country modernised (in the strictly functional sense of the term) there came a time when the capacity of the Congress to absorb more and more groups, and reconcile their conflicts within the party through the AICC or the Congress Working Committee, became exhausted.

At this point new groups and movements began increasingly to give their allegiance to opposition parties, or to enter the political arena and bid for votes directly. If the process of accommodation was to continue it required a major change in the attitude of the hitherto dominant party—the Congress.

### New Groups

The party had now to be willing to share power in the country as a whole, which meant relinquishing power to the opposition in some states. With 17 years of hindsight it is possible to see that this proved the sticking point: government by consensus began to break down immediately after the 1967 elections when nine state governments passed into the hands of other parties or coalitions.

The history of the defections engineered by the Congress and the counter-defections engineered in a few states by the opposition in the next four years is too well known to need repetition. What is important is that they revealed an unwillingness, particularly in the Congress, to share power in the nation with others. Not surprisingly this was also the beginning of the sharp rise in the acrimony of political debate, and the increasingly personal verbal attacks on Mrs Gandhi, that climaxed in 1975, and triggered the declaration of the emergency.

It is important to remind ourselves of this, because it shows that the violence we now witness in politics, and which is being made the excuse for now holding polls in Assam and Punjab, is not a sudden development. We have noticed it only when it has begun to threaten the unity of the nation itself. But it had begun to poison the democratic system and to vitiate its working at least 12 to 15 years earlier, right after the fourth general elections.

Both the Assam and Punjab pro-

blems are in fact signs that the breakdown of consensus had reached an advanced stage. Of the two, while Punjab is the more immediately threatening, Assam is the one in which the Congress Party's actions are the more reprehensible.

The Assam movement adhered to every tenet of Mahatma Gandhi's original doctrine of *satyagraha*. Although the AASU and AAGSP were able to mobilise unprecedented numbers of people, till the Central government went ahead with the February 1983 elections to the vidhan sabha, it was almost completely non-violent. What is more, the leaders of the movement were not trying to set up a new political party. They even gave short shrift to the non-Congress opposition. Their aim was to obtain an accommodation with the ruling Congress. Viewed in this perspective their decision to boycott the elections was a last desperate attempt to force the ruling party not to fight them but to accommodate them by shifting its popular base from the immigrant Bengali (Hindu and Muslim) to the native Assamese.

That their concrete demands were shifting and to some extent unrealistic cannot be denied. But the real reason why the Congress could not come to terms with it was that faced with a situation where two main power blocs could not be accommodated under its umbrella, it was unwilling to cut itself loose from its existing moorings.

### Trite Observation

The Punjab problem also originated with the breakdown of the accommodation process. The roots of the Akali agitation go back to the fact that twice, when they were legitimately elected to power, a Congress central government bundled them out—the first time in 1967 by engineering defections within eight months of the elections, and the second time after less than three years of the June 1977 elections, in February 1980. The Akalis' disillusionment with democratic politics, and the intense animosity towards the Centre that tempted them into playing the Bhindranwale card, stemmed directly from this.

What made Punjab different from Assam was the fact that in the state the Centre encountered for the first time a group of people, mostly young, who had already totally repudiated the Gandhian political legacy. Instead of following the traditional politics of *satyagraha* to present their demands, they adopted the strategy of using small measured doses of extreme violence with the aim of provoking massive and indiscriminate reactions against all Sikhs by the central government. Punjab is being pushed towards civil war faster than Assam because the politics of accommodation has broken down on both sides.

One last question remains: why was the politics of accommodation broken down? The simplistic answer is that for today's politicians power is an end in itself and not the means to an end—that in so far as a purpose can be discerned it is to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation and not to serve it. But this is a trite observation. The real truth is that politics is now attracting a very different type of person from the kind who entered it before or immediately after independence. And the reason for this is the increasing dominance of black money and organised crime in politics. The way in which smugglers, racketeers and dacoits have obtained a stranglehold on political parties in some states has been described before in these columns. The nation is now beginning to pay the price for the collapse of its moral foundations.

entry to quite a ou want I won't e Prime him. To l advice link the office e world. Yes, I e Prime le me to sily. For problems ablesome.

Sir An- er ambas- your ad- t No. 10, rsy about you were into your ssing the already e foreign in't you?

ing to the just can't y for the ow about ate office or foreign ate secre- ry affairs.

Trojans, ough be- fully pre- executive ed some- experience reign of- vels, spot pick up s with the levels.

come un ons about tion time ce, some- which w about, to whom this? Can all about do, why body who say, "It

p 17



## Dual Standards

Sir.—In her article "A Voice From the Rest of India" (November 15) Dharma Kumar has accused me and other colleagues of "insensitivity" in talking of the "ambivalence" of some Sikhs to the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, and of "providing a justification for the conspiracy for the conspiracy" by the Hindus. The moral base for such attacks on them in the future.

I find it extremely difficult to defend myself against such an irresponsible and arrogant accusation. Since April I have written six centre pages on Punjab, and one page on the plight of refugees in west Punjab. I have also written news pages on the morning (November 15). I have therefore judged for them whether I am guilty of these charges. I will not be an extreme.

I reluctantly already said. Before June 6, I was entirely opposed to the entry of the army into the Golden Temple and in calling out of the army at all. I had led for continuous and openly held negotiations with the Akalis, and pointed out repeatedly that the murder of civilians before June 6 was carried out by a small band of cold-blooded conspirators following a precisely worked-out plan with the objective of provoking a communal holocaust in this country. I have made precisely the same pleas and accusations after, and despite Mrs Gandhi's assassination.

I cannot however let matters rest here. I resent Mrs Kumar's easy assumption that I did not bother to check stories of Sikh reactions to Mrs Gandhi's death, and the slur of criminal irresponsibility that it carries with it. I did check and recheck, question, interrogate and even rebuke all those who came out with these stories. I warned people repeatedly against spreading rumours that could kill. But in the end I had to concede that there was a sizable grain of truth in what I had heard. In fact I did not have to step out of *The Times of India* office to obtain my first example of this ambivalence. I got it about 10 minutes after PTI flashes came in saying that the worst was feared.

Only one question remains: knowing of this ambivalence should I have highlighted it at all. I can take refuge in saying that I have a duty to tell the truth as I see it. But I learned long long ago, that the perception of truth is always relative, and depends on the subjective value framework of the viewer. If this is so then we editors, who claim the right to edit the copy of others, have an even greater duty to edit ourselves. I highlighted the ambivalence of some Sikhs only to show how the mass arrests of Akali leaders after June 6 had left the entire community leaderless and a prey to extremist forces. There was no way of making this point (whose intrinsic validity I am sure Mrs Kumar will not contest) forcefully enough without a reference to it. In short I wanted readers to understand the causes of this ambivalence and not condemn Sikhs for being a prey to it. Mrs Kumar's interpretation leaves me flabbergasted.

I also disagree with her that for our leader writers, and prominent Hindus and others to ask the Sikh intelligentsia to denounce the assassination of Mrs Gandhi is an example of double standard. What motivated this plea was concern and fear for the Sikh community. If a Hindu were to go and assassinate a major Sikh leader and claim that he did it for the greater glory of Hinduism or to avenge the death of Mrs Gandhi and the 200 Hindus who died before June 6, then I would expect Hindus as a whole to dissociate themselves publicly from the act. What is more, I know that Mrs Kumar would be among the first to make a public statement to this effect. I therefore regret to say that it is she who is guilty of double standard.

PREM SHANKAR JHA

New Delhi.

it a  
unc  
  
of t  
ver  
Wh  
gap  
thes  
Ind  
has  
poli  
not  
  
conc  
main  
-to vi  
India  
have  
to lib  
paid  
Sovie  
But t  
for ev  
the W  
U  
Pakist  
a secu  
India  
China  
of the  
both,  
make  
to add  
the vita  
ed and  
wards.  
Go  
in 1971  
to open  
a tempo  
more. I  
were ser  
and the  
India's h  
hummed  
question  
place it  
Let  
were mo  
made M  
the Sovie  
signed th  
which An  
it was de  
establishin  
ed? Indo-  
one thoug  
U.S.  
in it an e  
the cold v  
to a renev  
as far as I  
as it may  
Muslim an  
South Asia  
ed the bas  
In 19  
were extre  
brings it ou  
pretending  
did not suc  
Prime Min  
taller and t  
And it is no



# Geography Is The Problem

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not our stars,  
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

Stand this quotation from Shakespeare on its head and vary it a little and you get a fairly accurate statement of the main underlying cause of the frequent friction in Indo-U.S. relations.

"The fault, dear Henry, is not in ourselves  
But in our geography, that we are independent."

It does not quite rhyme but it sums up fairly well the source of trouble between India and the United States. The world looks very different from New Delhi than it looks from Washington. While sincere efforts in the two capitals can help reduce the gap sufficiently to make reasonably friendly relations possible, these cannot produce a convergence of interests and outlooks. Indeed, it will not be too wide of the mark to say that America has not had and cannot have an India or even a South Asia policy and that, by the same token, India has not had and cannot have an America policy.

No one need belabour the point that America's principal concerns have been to contain the Soviet Union, establish and maintain its ascendancy in the world and gain and retain access to vital resources, especially oil. On none of these accounts can India figure high on the U.S. list of priorities. American liberals have been attracted to this country on account of our adherence to liberal democracy. For some years even believers in *realpolitik* paid attention to this country in the belief that China was a Soviet satellite and its accomplice in the fight against the West. But the belief was ill-founded and could not possibly survive for ever. It finally ended with Nixon's and Kissinger's arrival in the White House.

U.S. policy-makers have wavered on the importance of Pakistan. To begin with, it took them a long time to settle for a security pact with it, partly because they did not wish to offend India which they then regarded relevant in the struggle against China. Then they virtually gave it up in 1965 when at the time of the Indo-Pakistan war they cancelled military supplies to both. It took them another 15 years before they could finally make up their mind to renew the old relationship and, needless to add, in the intervening period, the principal U.S. surrogate in the vital Gulf region, the Shah's regime in Teheran, had collapsed and Soviet troops had moved into Afghanistan soon afterwards.

General Yahya Khan figured in the Nixon-Kissinger scheme in 1971 because he was serving as an intermediary in their bid to open a dialogue with China. But this could give Pakistan only a temporary leverage in its dealing with the U.S. and it did no more. It is also open to question whether Nixon and Kissinger were seriously interested in preventing the break-up of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country with India's help. They certainly did precious little to stop that. They hummed and hawed but did little else. This is not to call into question Seymour Hersh's account of their partnership but to place it in proper perspective.

Let us suppose for a moment that Nixon and Kissinger were more favourably disposed towards India. That might have made Mrs. Gandhi a little more wary of the friendship treaty the Soviets were pressing her to sign. But in the final analysis she signed the treaty because she needed a deterrent against China which America could not provide regardless of whether or not it was dependent on General Yahya Khan's good offices for establishing a link with Peking. And what has the treaty changed? Indo-Soviet military cooperation was a fact long before anyone thought of the treaty.

U.S. policy shifts with every administration, though there is in it an element of unbroken continuity since the beginning of the cold war. Thus it is doubtful if a president less committed to a renewed cold war with the Soviet Union would have gone as far as Reagan has gone in support for Pakistan. But be that as it may, Pakistan fits into the American scheme as a Gulf-Muslim and as a Central Asian-Muslim power and not as a South Asian country. This may not interest Hersh but it formed the basis of the Nixon-Kissinger approach.

In 1971 Nixon and Kissinger said and did things which were extremely foolish even from their own point of view. Hersh brings it out very well. On a charitable view, they were perhaps pretending to be mad in order to frighten Mrs. Gandhi. They did not succeed which was a remarkable tribute to the Indian Prime Minister. On Hersh's account, she emerges as a much taller and tougher leader than Nixon and Kissinger put together. And it is not possible to find fault with his account.

untry to  
quite a  
you want  
"I won't  
ne Prime  
him. To  
d advice  
hink the  
s office  
ne world.  
Yes, I  
ne Prime  
le me to  
sily. For  
problems  
publesome.

ed Sir An-  
er ambas-  
your ad-  
t No. 10,  
rsy about  
you were  
into your  
sing the  
t already  
ne foreign  
ln't you?

ling to the  
just can't  
y for the  
ow about  
ate office  
or foreign  
ate secre-  
ary affairs.

Trojans.  
ough be-  
tully pre-  
executive  
led some-  
experienced  
oreign af-  
vels, spot  
pick up  
s with the  
o levels.

come up  
ons about  
tion time  
ce, some-  
— which  
ow about  
to whom  
this? Can  
all about  
do, why  
body who  
t say, "It

17



the  
Di  
oth  
of  
in  
sor  
sin  
tio  
by  
tio  
mor  
in  
I  
to  
pon  
tion  
writ  
jab  
refug  
news  
I  
(Nov  
judg  
guilt  
an  
rele  
alre  
B  
the  
n  
Ten  
the  
tinu  
th  
wilt  
rep  
a  
bef  
sm  
spi  
out  
pre  
thi  
di  
sar  
des  
cc  
th  
he  
bt  
as  
fo  
ch  
G  
cr  
wi  
ti  
th  
I  
sp  
in  
w  
hi  
ot  
at  
af  
th

in  
hi  
sa  
tru  
ag  
alv  
sul  
vie  
cla  
off  
ed  
am  
sh  
lea  
co  
ex  
m  
va  
cc  
re  
n  
a  
f  
i

DOES  
oppare

hav  
out we  
matere  
of a na  
communi  
religion  
gain it  
we und

Does  
television  
efficient  
no, in  
lous Si  
plainin  
ster  
they hi  
that v  
Doorda  
(degree)  
crisis  
sions v  
ave t  
he is  
eter  
had  
need  
than  
in  
the  
his

Th  
ing  
trace  
ertha  
or I  
desire  
rare  
tional  
missil  
at the  
was  
he n  
nony  
I. K  
e si  
inu  
ceec  
had



## 'Varsities in travail

**O**URS is a sick, sick society. But no sector is sicker than the field of higher education. Currently four premier universities in Uttar Pradesh are on the sick list and the cure is nowhere in sight. Allahabad University is in the throes of a controversy whipped up by the resignation of the Vice-Chancellor, Professor U. N. Singh, some time ago. Whether political pressure was brought to bear for his resignation or the V-C made a virtue of necessity for his term was about to expire, is beside the point. What causes concern is the erosion of all discipline and sense of dedication among the teaching staff which inevitably has vitiated the whole academic atmosphere in the campus. There is unabashed jostling for office for the vacancy and a state of confrontation between Government and the teachers is slowly building up in the smouldering campus. According to press reports, the acting Vice Chancellor is unhappy over his present uncertain status and a dominant section of the Allahabad University Teachers' Association is determined to oppose the inquiry ordered by the Government into the charges of discrimination in dealing with cases of indiscipline.

The Association has also demanded, according to press reports, repeal of Section 8 of the State Universities' Act which gives the Government sweeping powers to interfere in the affairs of the Universities. The Lucknow University is in no better shape. Tantrums where the senior staff is concerned are the order of the day. No wonder the campus is in a perpetual state of trauma. Accusations and counter-accusations are fiercely bandied by many senior teachers and their supporters. Examinations are held in a tense atmosphere punctuated by walk-outs and vociferous protests.

A veritable explosion took place in the Rohilkhand University when the students' agitation for the postponement of the examinations from May to July took a violent turn. Armed Constabulary resorted to lathi charge for dispersing the agitators resulting in injuries to more than a score of students. In-feuding in the Kanpur University has resulted in loss of rapport between the Vice-Chancellor and a section of the staff. All these universities have been infected with political virus in varying proportions. The sad truth is that education, especially higher education, in this country has lost its sense of direction. The so-called temples of learning are now the favourite haunts of money-changers who have polluted the whole atmosphere. The students, their number is now legion, are becoming progressively restless and disillusioned as they realise that what they have to face once they come out of the portals of the university is the chilling spectre of unemployment.

To put it without frills, the majority of students consider that they have no stakes in the present scheme of things. They do not want education. All that they want and demand stridently is a bit of parchment with a useless degree scrawled across it. Uttar Pradesh, it is distressing to note, has the largest number of unemployed graduates. The reason is plain. Apart from the low standard of teaching, the educational contents are by and large wholly irrelevant to the students' requirements once they enter the job market. Slow economic growth has also contributed to large-scale unemployment among overseers, engineers and many other qualified personnel in the vocational sphere. Yet the craze for higher education goes unchecked and universities keep multiplying in profusion. The whole system is out-dated, outmoded and is in danger of being out-and-out corrupt. Unless the universities are rid of the incubus of professional politicians manipulating their affairs for partisan and personal gain and the whole educational system is remoulded by educationists of unimpeachable integrity and skill, we will be handing over these institutions on a platter to vandals and a venal breed of professional manipulators.

untry to  
quite a  
you want  
"I won't  
ne Prime  
him. To  
d advice  
hink the  
s office  
ne world.  
Yes, I  
ne Prime  
le me to  
sily. For  
problems  
oublesome.

ed Sir An-  
mer ambas-  
your ad-  
t No. 10,  
rsy about  
you were  
into your  
ssing the  
t already  
ne fore-ign  
dn't you?

ling to the  
just can't  
y for the  
ow about  
ate office  
or foreign  
ate secre-  
ce affairs,  
ry affairs.

: Trojans,  
ough be-  
fully pre-  
executive  
led some-  
experience  
oreign af-  
vels, spot  
pick up  
s with the  
o levels.

come up  
ions about  
tion time  
ce, some-  
— which  
ow about  
to whom  
this? Can  
all about  
do, why  
body who  
I say, "It

IV



**T**HE emergence of Bharatendu Harishchandra era (1885-85) proved to be a turning point in the history of Hindi literature. This era could be equated with that of the Renaissance period in Europe. Especially, for the Hindi prose-writing, this era was of great significance as at this particular time the need for a simpler expression of national thought in prose-writing was acutely felt. At the very outset of Bharatendu era, the modern Indian life and its problems had begun to take roots in the country.

This was also the time when writers and thinkers seriously began to give thought to introduction of a language for the common people. The beginning of prose-writing in Hindi was marked by new problems created by social conditions. There was an amount of literary chaos too. In fact, for Hindi prose itself, several problems were being posed by orthodox Hindi writers who had never given much thought towards the creation of a simple, conversational language with equally simple literary style, much due to their own pre-occupations with the allegorical and rhetorical use of language.

Persian had been replaced by English and Urdu by the British rulers. And, there was no question of Devnagari's introduction into official affairs; though Hindi was still spoken, read and written by the majority of Indians and it had its roots in the masses. At this critical stage, writers like Bharatendu, Sudhakar Dwivedi, Balkrishna Bhatt and Pratapnarayan Mishra besides many others, began to champion the cause of Devnagari and Hindi. And it was solely due to their individual efforts that a large number of people came in touch of the language. Yet, Hindi was mostly picked up by men of literary taste and those who had already cultivated love for it.

But, so far as common Hindustani is concerned, the entire credit for its widespread currency rests on the shoulders of two earlier Hindi novelists—Babu Devakinandan Khatri and Pandit Kishorilal Goswami. These two writers were responsible for the creation of a language, which otherwise, was thought unsuitable for literary use.

From the language point of view, Devakinandan Khatri stands out among all his contemporaries. His contribution to the language of prose-writing is not only great but enormous. It was he, who first translated the concept of a modern Hindustani into reality. His language was neither difficult nor prosaic, neither loaded with Arabic or Persian expressions, nor overburdened by Sanskritized vocabulary. His use of the language was an admixture of the current phraseology of Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit—words of which had already existed in the com-

mon language.

The concept of *aam bol-chaal wali Hindustani* or the conversational Hindi was first introduced into Hindi literature by Khatri. The simple style of his first novel *Chandrakanta*, a work in four volumes, revolutionized the entire literary expression. The novel robbed Hindi of its existing inhibitions, artificiality and uncommon use of words, some of the traits are maintained by the majority of Hindi fiction writers and critics even now.

Khatri was born in Bihar, though his ancestors hailed from Multan. His father, Lala Ishwardas had settled down in Varanasi in pre-1857 'Revolt' years. He was a handsome person. His personality had impressed one Jiwanlal Mehta so much that he not only asked him to marry his daughter, but also gave him a huge dowry of rupees one lakh and twenty-five thousand besides taking him to Muzaffarpur to live with his family. But being a temperamental person Lala Ishwardas couldn't pull on with his in-laws. He left them and returned to Varanasi, build a house in Lahori Tola and established a lucrative business of manufacturing *zari* and elephant *howdahs* for various princely States.

At the age of four, Khatri was sent to live with his maternal grand-parents at Pusa, Muzaffarpur, where he received his earlier education in Persian and Urdu. By the time he grew up his father had extended his business to Gaya. Lala Ishwardas sent his son there to maintain the business. It was in Gaya where Khatri learned Hindi and Sanskrit. But after a few years stay there he came back to Varanasi and took up a new job as a forest contractor. Abundance of both, health and wealth had made him a carefree man. He had cultivated a taste for expensive habits—deriving his joy from various entertainments luxury, kite-flying and

very interesting and in a very simple and unjittered language at that. He thought about writing a tale which would absorb readers of all age. No matter, how people or critics received it, he finally resolved to chose characters from the princely States and his known surroundings not to speak of his closest friends some of whom weren't even spared from becoming characters of his novels.

He instantly thought of certain princely characters engaged in various adventures, capable of travelling from one age to another by breaking all barriers of time and space—a journey into the future and past. To maintain reader's interest the writer himself would be a party and a witness to the entire series of events. Thus the classic concept of *Chandrakanta* was born, the princess of Vijaygarh State and her rom-

ance with Naugarh's prince Birendra Singh. The entire theme was based on the struggle between the good and evil.

In order to test the effect of his would-be novel he first wrote a few pages and showed them to one of his intimate friends, Amirsingh, who owned the once famous printing press, Hariprakash Yantralaya. The latter was so impressed by the interest generated by those few pages that he asked Khatri to develop the novel and complete it as soon as possible.

by DEVENDRA MOHAN

from discussions on literature and other subjects of topical interest with his well-known writer friends.

His acquaintance with the forest life, his love for travelling and inbuilt inquisitiveness to know things had endowed him with a terrific insight into various aspects of life—a knowledge he was to use later on in his novels with a rare combination of his vivid imagination. An unfortunate killing of a lion in the jungle of Chakia deprived him of his contract, though it was mistakenly killed by one of his unhunterlike friends, a poet. Once again, he came back to Varanasi in search of a new business. By now, Khatri had become fully aware of existing literary trends and had begun to participate in various literary activities.

Being a man of action and lover of fast life he could never sit idle. In order to pass his time he began to toy with the idea of writing.

in the Society. He behaved like a real story-teller. Yet, his writings implied sensibilities of different social classes. Most of his characters were full of basic goodness of human being, though they symbolized the feudal class of the British rule. Apparently, it is the royal blood which seems to

Hence *Chandrakanta* shaped up in no time. When the novel first got published, Khatri was just 26. The first edition was a complete sell-out. No other piece of Hindi fiction could vie with its popularity then, and perhaps, even now. Nearly a hundred editions of *Chandrakanta* have been published so far in various shapes and sizes. More than one and half million copies have been sold uptill now.

The increasing demand of the novel prompted Khatri to set up his own Press, the Lahari Press which still exists in Varanasi and is being looked after by its founder's grandson Kamalapati Khatri who continued to publish the former's works. Nearly forty people worked in the press to meet day-to-day demand of the late Khatri's books.

A writer of great and fertile imagination, Khatri didn't stop at *Chandrakanta*. He went further, to write *Chandrakanta Santati*, a continuation of the

be shown as rather or Hindustani who not only gave *aam bol-chaal ki zubaan* to the Hindi speaking world as a vehicle for literary expression, but also for enabling it to stand with its head held high in the world of cultural snobbery wherefrom nothing comes out but the colourful rhetoric that tends to obscure literature than simplifying it.

The property of

The

It is one of the blems become m deal of expertise get concentrated government. And ence between the the one hand and ship of the Soviet sters of India and less power than the contrary may be t can push through lation. Mr. Reagan difference has, of with the fact that their parties at the majority in the t Republican Congr Democrats. Similar creising no more enormous difference is no more a rubb British cabinet or is a President or a ruling commun large number of d after day.

The British in have inherited and differences in the c shaped in very dif dangerous times th often more than th gether different sto boss. He or she la power-hungry but Debates without le And quick decisio than the Prime Min Minister can be all So how is he or sh

In an interview Thatcher has descr blem. One wishes N ple into confidence the necessary info ministers. As thing thing of a mystery Perhaps there is no that like most of an ad hoc basis. C tional framework w satisfactory basis, t ster's own secretar it is quite a task crop up. But hard in fact influence l belief is, that she tender the advice of the good old d blems relatively si times of big govern



## A Thought for The Week

The property of power is to protect.

— PASCAL

# The Prime Minister

It is one of the great paradoxes of our times that as problems become more and more complex and call for a great deal of expertise for their solution, decision-making tends to get concentrated at the very top. This is especially true of government. And in this regard there may not be much difference between the presidential and the parliamentary system on the one hand and democracy and an institutionalised dictatorship of the Soviet type on the other. The present Prime Ministers of India and Britain, for instance, cannot be said to wield less power than the President of the United States. Indeed, the contrary may be true. While Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher can push through their respective parliaments almost any legislation, Mr. Reagan is often bogged down in Congress. The difference has, of course, less to do with the two systems than with the fact that while Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher have their parties at their command, Mr. Reagan has to assure a majority in the two Houses for every measure he proposes; Republican Congressmen can vote as easily against him as Democrats. Similarly, President Andropov may in effect be exercising no more power than President Reagan despite the enormous difference in the two systems. The Soviet politburo is no more a rubber stamp. It debates issues as much as the British cabinet or the U.S. presidential team. But whether it is a President or a Prime Minister or a general secretary of a ruling communist party, these individuals have to take a large number of decisions on a host of complex issues day after day.

The British institutional framework, which we in India have inherited and sought to preserve despite the enormous differences in the conditions and sizes of the two countries, was shaped in very different circumstances. Even in less hectic and dangerous times than ours, the British Prime Minister was often more than the first among equals. But today it is an altogether different story. The occupant of that office today is the boss. He or she lays down the law not because he or she is power-hungry but because the system will not otherwise work. Debates without leadership cannot produce quick decisions. And quick decisions have become necessary. And who other than the Prime Minister is to provide leadership? But no Prime Minister can be all-knowing. Only fools can make such a claim. So how is he or she to live up to his or her responsibilities?

In an interview which we carry on an earlier page, Mrs. Thatcher has described her approach to the nerve-racking problem. One wishes Mrs. Gandhi too would take the Indian people into confidence and tell them how she collects and sifts the necessary information in order to be able to guide her ministers. As things are, her decision-making process is something of a mystery which keeps the students of India baffled. Perhaps there is no mystery about it. For it is quite possible that like most of us Indians, the Prime Minister functions on an *ad hoc* basis. Certainly it is not easy to locate the institutional framework which can enable her to function on a more satisfactory basis, the cabinet secretariat and the Prime Minister's own secretariat being ill-equipped for the job. In fact, it is quite hard to name Mrs. Gandhi's advisers. Some names crop up. But hardly does anyone believe that those individuals in fact influence her decisions. On the contrary, the general belief is, that she turns to the adviser who she knows will tender the advice she is inclined to heed. This is reminiscent of the good old days when government was small and problems relatively simple. This non-system cannot work in these times of big government and bigger problems.

is its full course, we shall e lowest number of civil since 1945. Already we e lowest number for 15 that is because this gov- has developed manage- efficiency in the civil ser- here's a long, long way yet. In the past, people nded to look only at the they spend and the num- people they employ, in- asking, "Ought we to do ill" or, "Is there a differ- of doing it?" We're look- one of these things.

e not made changes in the f the departments of gov- because I've seen what in the past when Prime s have come in and done anisation — one Prime

no good palning  
Prime Minister off  
this; she won't  
it."

puts two or three depart- together, and the n- minister comes along and m apart again. You k- appens, when you make ind of changes? Distrac- everybody concentrates on ges in organisation. Dif- fering paper, different ad- names at the top — et different carpets on ice floor and different es on their door. I don't I servants distracted in I want them to deal problems of the day in- being distracted by de- reorganisation.

the organisation of the nister's office, I have g to make some chang- cause the amount which minister has to do today ds what Prime Mini- to do even as recently 15 years ago. Summit s, for instance. The time a Prime Minister ve to — for instance s tremendous.

a minister of com-

merce from another country to come over. You're selling quite a lot to that country, and you want to sell more. He says, "I won't come unless I can see the Prime Minister." Well, you see him. To deal with him you need advice and administration. I think the British Prime Minister's office must be the smallest in the world, comparatively speaking. Yes, I would like to enlarge the Prime Minister's office to enable me to do the work more easily. For instance, to know about problems before they become troublesome.

When you appointed Sir Anthony Parsons, our former ambassador to the UN to be your adviser on foreign policy at No. 10, there was some controversy about it — to the effect that you were taking foreign policy into your own hands, were by-passing the foreign office. But you already had a representative of the foreign office in residence, didn't you? So....

I was in fact only adding to the strength. One person just can't provide what is necessary for the Prime Minister to know about foreign affairs. My private office has a private secretary for foreign affairs, a treasury private secretary, one for home office affairs, and one for parliamentary affairs.

Those men work like Trojans. But this hasn't been enough because they have been fully pre-occupied with practical executive work, and I have needed someone of standing and experience who could deal with foreign affairs at the policy levels, spot what was happening, pick up things, and discuss things with the foreign office at the top levels.

Sometimes things have come up to me suddenly — questions about foreign affairs, at question time in the House, for instance, sometimes from newspapers — which I didn't previously know about. I now have somebody to whom I can say, "What about this? Can you go and find out all about this?" Or, "This won't do, why wasn't I told?" Somebody who can come to me and say, "It

Continued on Page 17



looks to be as if there's going to be trouble about this or that.

In the past few years the problems of government have developed in such a way that I feel strongly that I've got to have links between me and the departments of state whom I can ask to get on to the foreign office, or to the treasury, and tell them that the Prime Minister wants information about this immediately; someone who if necessary will go across to the department concerned and say, "It's no good palming the Prime Minister off with this; he won't take it."

If you've got the right people around you, and they can come in to see you and talk to you, tell you what you've asked them to find out, you can often knock off what might be three hours' paper work in 30 minutes.

What I have done — and I know this has been misunderstood by some people, and misrepresented by others — is not to set up a Prime Minister's department, but get an effective Prime Minister's office.

Do you feel that for the kind of society in Britain you are trying to bring about, our civil service is up-to-date enough? Some say it's old-fashioned, archaic.

No, I don't feel it's archaic. Our top civil servants would be but-standing in any society, quite outstanding. Any member of the private office here could go out and earn far more outside. Some of them have been outside as part of their training and have come back in; they are there because they are devoted to the work we do, enjoy the pace at which we work, know that we're having some impact. As a whole ours is a highly professional civil service. If anyone complains about the civil service, it is because the instructions given to them are not sufficiently clear and direct. The civil service will do what the head of the department wishes to be done.

When you say the head of the department?

"I simply say to people, 'Look, if you are going to do yourselves out of jobs like this, people are not going to buy your products. If you behave like this, don't blame me for the unemployment. And don't bring the trade unions along in great big marches demonstrating about unemployment if they and the Labour Party are going to back strikes of this kind.'"

I mean the minister — the elected politician in charge. The civil service is there to serve the ministry. That is their proud tradition. The minister can't get into the detailed management of his department but he can see that the department is managed, and that his policies are carried out.

Would your economic policies have been the same if you had known that four years after you came to power there would be more than three million unemployed?

Mr. Harris, there are three million unemployed here. But there's a record number of unemployed in Germany, France, the United States — a record for the postwar period. The European countries have military conscription — a whole generation of youngsters off the unemployment register for a year — yet a very high record of unemployment, some of them just topping ours. Germany sent about half a million of her guest workers home. She's still got some there, and yet she still has record unemployment. We haven't sent anyone home, and we haven't got military conscription, so our figures here look higher than theirs. They didn't have the kind of over-manning that we've had, so we've had those problems as well.

I can only say this, knowing

that our difficulties were greater than theirs, first because of over-manning, secondly because of constantly paying ourselves more money, although we only produced about the same amount, so that we were over-priced — knowing these things, if I had not taken the steps I did, then Britain would be in a very much worse position than she is now. We should not have had the big balance of payment surplus we had last year, and we should have a very dim future because our industry would not be in a position to benefit from that increase in world trade which will shortly come.

When you took office you said the balance of industrial power was far too tipped in favour of the trade unions. How do you feel that balance stands now?

We have as you know passed two acts which have made a very good start. One was much concerned to deal with picketing and the second to make the unions responsible for action which would have been illegal if done by an individual. Both were concerned with the closed shop. Another bill is to come. There is a Gifford Paper out on whether ballots for the election of union officials should be secret. I personally think that's the single most important thing. Also, we need to have a

22.10.1971



ships, in  
argument, debate  
you come to  
decisions.

Some people  
not wholly inter-  
and on the other  
of the EEC, she  
old "special relation-  
Americans.

Yes, that is a  
differences  
European friend-  
wrong with that? I  
stance, has her own  
things. Differences  
we each have our  
teristics? That's what  
said it's a common  
nations. I don't think  
get a United States

As for Britain and  
States, there still is a  
relationship and there  
be. There are closer  
Britain and the United  
there are between  
European countries and  
ed States, and they  
ties. There's nothing  
about it. George Wash-  
for all an Englishman

to the Labour Party  
friend,' because  
to persuade people  
would buy more  
our strikes before  
kes help your country  
Germany and Japan

constitution of the United  
as born out of the heart  
ans learned from Britain  
it of it. Their system  
is born out of the British  
ence. It's as simple as

Do you think that  
rapions will be a prom-  
e in the next election  
I think the opposition  
make it a prominent  
of self-analysis. The  
same kind of show  
basic resemblance be-  
selves and the expatri-  
nationalists as Gulliver  
he saw that he was ver-  
like the Yahoos on the  
the Houyhnhnms.

who have read Gulliver  
I recall that after be-  
ed on the island, Gulliver  
at first set upon and in-  
assaulted by a pack of  
animals and was res-  
a horse, which was one  
and virtuous Houyhnhn-  
he could not understand  
Houyhnhnm uttered  
"Yahoo" when he looked  
At last a Yahoo was  
so that the horses  
a closer comparison  
ever saw that a Yahoo  
same repulsive animal  
attacked him. He also  
with horror that  
feature, a Yahoo  
only like a human  
only more ugly and  
if he was a debased  
of man. I leave it to  
nationalists at home  
or reject the validity of

ing down my verdict  
nationalists in Bri-  
and give two illustrations  
brand of nationalism,  
and the other cul-  
begin with the poli-  
Britain and Argen-  
can immigrants were  
a man pro-Argentine.  
ating the two World  
so illogicality in the  
attitude as there was  
Argentine. In regard

One has to do things by per-  
suasion, as well as by law. I have  
been very, very depressed about  
the strike at Halewood. Heaven  
knows the amount we've been try-  
ing to do for Merseyside. And  
there, where they have jobs, they  
march off the job. And the num-  
ber of strikes they've had! You've  
seen the number of strikes they  
had last year, unofficial strikes.  
You say, "Look, you've got jobs,  
you've got a future and you just  
walk off the job." And you point  
out what the taxpayer has done  
for British Leyland. I simply say  
to people, "Look, you must be  
presumed to intend the consequen-  
ces of your own action. So if you  
are going to do yourselves out  
of jobs like this, people are not  
going to buy your products. If  
you behave like this, don't blame  
me for the unemployment. And  
don't bring the trade unions along  
in great big marches demonstrat-

"Good heavens, where  
has politics got to  
Nonsense. Democrac-  
y's about self-govern-  
ment and you can't  
have a democracy  
without self-discipline  
and personal responsi-  
bility."

the new government  
on anything. I've seen  
government becomes ap-  
it's not my sort of gov-  
it's horse dealing.  
there are quite a num-  
ber where a minority  
has been carried on far  
are. Parliament can't  
the government in what  
majority government, there-  
fore do what it believes  
for the country and so  
ment. "You must do  
you'll have another elec-

Indians in Brit  
in the apocalyp  
of seeing the c  
which Britain will  
arded as the bri  
jewel in the cro  
India.

irad C. Chaudh

DAY I am going to  
cribe the peculiar fo  
nationalism has ta  
tain among the Ind  
ants. In fact, Indian  
is now more posi-  
tive in the U.K. than  
it is more like the  
we had before indepe-  
ndence. That is to say, the ex-  
patriate Indian immi-  
grants exhibit the sa-  
me attitude against  
their own country  
against them when the  
ing India.

ingness of this ex-  
comes from the fact t  
by the very people w  
their country  
of money and would  
business contemplate  
to India, although t  
complaining about ra-  
mination and ill-tre-  
I have a theory that it  
political disloyalty to In-  
making the Indian immi-  
sour and sharp in the

order in India I  
be interested to lea  
expatriate nationalis-  
from time to time  
great a readiness to su-  
Indian immigrants  
in respect of the Sud-  
rans in Czechoslovakia  
may also be in the r  
siber-minded men wh  
of self-analysis. The  
same kind of show  
basic resemblance be-  
selves and the expatri-  
nationalists as Gulliver  
he saw that he was ver-  
like the Yahoos on the  
the Houyhnhnms.

who have read Gulliver  
I recall that after be-  
ed on the island, Gulliver  
at first set upon and in-  
assaulted by a pack of  
animals and was res-  
a horse, which was one  
and virtuous Houyhnhn-  
he could not understand  
Houyhnhnm uttered  
"Yahoo" when he looked  
At last a Yahoo was  
so that the horses  
a closer comparison  
ever saw that a Yahoo  
same repulsive animal  
attacked him. He also  
with horror that  
feature, a Yahoo  
only like a human  
only more ugly and  
if he was a debased  
of man. I leave it to  
nationalists at home  
or reject the validity of

ing down my verdict  
nationalists in Bri-  
and give two illustrations  
brand of nationalism,  
and the other cul-  
begin with the poli-  
Britain and Argen-  
can immigrants were  
a man pro-Argentine.  
ating the two World  
so illogicality in the  
attitude as there was  
Argentine. In regard

One has to do things by per-  
suasion, as well as by law. I have  
been very, very depressed about  
the strike at Halewood. Heaven  
knows the amount we've been try-  
ing to do for Merseyside. And  
there, where they have jobs, they  
march off the job. And the num-  
ber of strikes they've had! You've  
seen the number of strikes they  
had last year, unofficial strikes.  
You say, "Look, you've got jobs,  
you've got a future and you just  
walk off the job." And you point  
out what the taxpayer has done  
for British Leyland. I simply say  
to people, "Look, you must be  
presumed to intend the consequen-  
ces of your own action. So if you  
are going to do yourselves out  
of jobs like this, people are not  
going to buy your products. If  
you behave like this, don't blame  
me for the unemployment. And  
don't bring the trade unions along  
in great big marches demonstrat-

"Good heavens, where  
has politics got to  
Nonsense. Democrac-  
y's about self-govern-  
ment and you can't  
have a democracy  
without self-discipline  
and personal responsi-  
bility."



# Are we colonising

Indians in Britain in the apocalyptic of seeing the day which Britain will be regarded as the bright jewel in the crown of India.

Nirad C. Chaudhuri

DAY I am going to describe the peculiar form of nationalism has taken in Britain among the Indian immigrants. In fact, Indian nationalism is now more positive in the U.K. than in India. It is more like the nationalism we had before independence. It is to say, the expatriate nationalism exhibits the same grievance against the British as the Indian nationalism exhibits against them when they were in India.

One of the strangeness of this exhibition is from the fact that it is by the very people who are supposed to be the most liberal and would in any circumstances contemplate the independence of India, although they are complaining about racial discrimination and ill-treatment. I have a theory that it is a kind of disloyalty to India, making the Indian immigrants sour and sharp in their attitude.

In the order in India I am interested to learn that the expatriate nationalism from time to time they show a readiness to support the Indian immigrants as they are in the Sudan. It is in respect of the Sudanese in Czechoslovakia, may also be in the rule of the sabre-minded men who are prominent in the same kind of shock as some of the basic resemblance between the vast majority of the expatriate nationalists as Gulliver's sons are a few like the Yahoos on the island of the Houyhnhnms.

Who have read Gulliver's I recall that after he had been on the island, Gulliver first set upon and assaulted by a pack of animals and was rescued by a horse, which was one of the virtuous Houyhnhnms. He could not understand the Houyhnhnms' utterance of "Yahoo" when he looked at last a Yahoo was so that the horses made a closer comparison. He saw that a Yahoo was a repulsive animal attacked him. He also with horror that, for feature, a Yahoo was like a human being, more ugly and more debased than a man. I leave it to the nationalists at home to reject the validity of my verdict.

Setting down my verdict on Indian nationalism in Britain, I give two illustrations of nationalism, one of the kind of nationalism, and the other of the kind of nationalism, which began with the partition of India and the recent immigration of Indians and Argentinians. In the first, the two World Wars, the pro-German attitude as there was in Argentina. In regard

to Latin America, all Indians were leftist, i.e., supporters of Allende, worshippers of Che Guevara, and unenlisted followers of Fidel Castro. But during the Falkland war they all became pro-Gallieri and pro-Junta. From their point of view, however, there was no inconsistency whatever, because the two contrasting attitudes were fused into one by the hatred of Britain.

Next, the expatriate Indians showed their intellectual incompetence at every stage of the war. At first, they would not believe that Britain would fight instead of accepting the humiliating fait accompli. When that pleasing anticipation was falsified they shared the view of the leftist British that the expedition would

Indians swallowed every bit of Argentine propaganda, obligingly relayed to them by the B.B.C. and I.T.V. And they agreed fully with the Argentinians that Britain was colonialist, while they stood for nationalism, as if the Spaniards in South America were the original inhabitants of that continent. I who knew a good deal about Cortes and Pizarro and something of the doings of Dictator Rosas in Argentina itself, could not share that credulity.

Last of all, there was the moral unsavouriness of the pro-Argentine attitude of the Indian immigrants. These men were living on British money, and not simply living, but getting wealthy to an extent they could never expect to be in India. But all that was

"Dear Sirs,

Hinduism: Nirad Chaudhuri

"The above book has come to our notice. We find it is filled with invective and bigotry directed against the venerable Hindu faith. It includes passages that leave us frankly incredulous that such warped opinions could be printed in the name of scholarship, and furthermore be published by such a supposedly respectable institution as yourselves.

To make matters worse, on the rear of the book you have advertised it as being an accurate picture of Hinduism "as it was and is" and have recommended it for the general reader. However, this book is actually nothing more than an attack on Hindu religion and culture, and the more than



Should nationalism, like charity, begin at home?

end in failure and disgrace. Not even Mr. Tony Benn, or Mr. Tariq Ali, or the favourite paper of the expatriate Indian, *The Guardian*, was more sure of it. They assumed that before the superb technical superiority of the Argentine forces the out of date methods of the British would fail. As a very intelligent and well-informed Indian student told me: "the days of old colonial campaigning were gone." He probably thought that the British expedition to the Falklands was organised and equipped like Clive's expedition to recover Calcutta, with this difference, that at the other end stood, not the feckless Siraj-ud-daula, but those experts in scientific warfare, the Argentinians. It reminded me of a statement made to me during the last war by a Bengali barrister who was the holder of a doctorate from the London School of Economics. He said that the British could never win the war. When I asked him why, he gave me the crushing reply: "non-science cannot defeat science." He never explained to me why he himself had been in that sanctum of non-science, the I. S. E.

In their partisan attitude the

forgotten in their partisanship, and not only that — even the good old Indian principle of never being *namak-haram* was also forgotten. Even Englishmen in India had acquired the Indian notion. Sir Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) was not well treated by the East India Company, but he would not cease to be loyal to it, for, as he said: "I am a *namakwalah*." But, of course, Indians earning money in Britain always say that the money is not British because all of it was stolen from India.

I come next to the example of cultural nationalism. As it happens, I came up against it personally in connection with my book on Hinduism. This book has been criticised in India, at times even attacked viciously. But it has sold in India and is still selling. No one in India has tried to suppress it there. An attempt to do that was made in Britain, and by an organisation claiming to represent the Hindu settled or resident in the U.K. Its chairman wrote a letter to my publishers, which was both in form and substance a peremptory ultimatum to them, and here is its full text:

three-fourths million Hindus of Britain will not simply sit back and let such an irresponsible act of antagonism go unimpeded.

"We have sought the advice of the 'Commission for Racial Equality' and in their opinion this publication will greatly damage racial harmony created in this country over the last decade. We are keeping our option open according to our legal advisers on approaching the European Commission for Human Rights (Religious Division).

"We demand that you withdraw this publication forthwith, both here and in the other countries in which you distribute. Failing this you will leave us no alternative than to institute legal proceedings."

The chairman and members of the committee of this organisation were, to judge by the particulars given in the letter, men of the highest professional and academic qualifications (including Ph.D.s). I have no reason to think that they can read a line of Sanskrit, but their nationalism is typical. It does not show a trace of fear of idiomatic English, but does show an unlimited confidence in

When I ask the parents I know, to be firm they reply: "Such things are found in every Indian home. What is the use of..."

a famous English saying and exclaim: "But for the grace of the University of Cambridge, there..."  
the Secretary for Common-



## A Thought for The Week

*Patriotism is a lively sense of responsibility. Nationalism is a silly cock crowing on its own dunghill.*

— RICHARD ALDINGTON

# Schizophrenic Nationalism

Most expatriates are of necessity schizophrenic. They find their own societies unattractive for whatever reason, social, economic and political. Or else they would not leave in the first instance. But they cannot easily and quickly strike roots in the country of adoption. The problem is further complicated if the cultural differences are as vast as between India and Britain, or if the emigrants are not conversant with the language, or if the people happen to be as race-class conscious and as insular as the British happen to be. The history of the past unequal relations perhaps comes into play, as Nirad Chaudhuri has argued in the adjoining columns. But the problem could be acute even if Britain had not ruled over India and yet so many Indians had settled there.

Schizophrenia is, however, not peculiar to expatriates. Millions of us even at home suffer from it. Most of those who have been educated through the medium of the English language are not able to respect a great deal around them. In fact, they are appalled at institutions like the caste system, social customs like dowry, the low quality of education, inefficiency and the slovenliness that they witness all around them. But in order to preserve their self-respect they have to admire something Indian. Up to the twenties it was the country's spiritual traditions which they contrasted with the West's alleged materialism to their psychological advantage. These days such Indians talk more of the country's cultural heritage. They do not care to know what this inheritance is. It is enough for them to talk about it. That gives them the brief shred of dignity and self-confidence they need.

Education through the medium of a foreign language or in a foreign system is an attempt at cultural transplant. Since it involves millions of people directly and many more millions indirectly, the complications can well be imagined. The process is extremely painful and often unsuccessful. Indeed, it is wrong to talk of a successful cultural transplant. A "brown Englishman" or a "westernised oriental gentleman" (WOG for short) is a contradiction in terms; he is a caricature. The WOGs are a dying species in our country. We can still meet some specimens in Calcutta, Bangalore, Simla and so on. But that is only part of the story; the more painful part relates to the socially and economically unsuccessful. They abound in our society as in any other developing country.

The nationalist, or for that matter, the communalist ideology is the handiwork of the disoriented. This may appear to be a shocking statement. But it cannot be contested on the basis of facts. This does not mean that all leaders of a nationalist movement are disoriented to a point where it shows. But they invariably are to some extent. Even Gandhiji was not wholly rooted in tradition. Nor for that matter his assassin, Nathuram Godse. Gandhiji was in any case a unique phenomenon in that he deliberately identified himself with what the educated in their arrogance call the common people, as if there can be uncommon people. Incidentally, the frequent use of this phrase speaks volumes for the educated Indian's alienation from his own society. And it is such Indians who accepted the concept of nationalism.

Nationalism is different from patriotism. Patriotism is positive. It is an expression of one's love for one's country — its land, its people, its history, its traditions. Nationalism is at least partly negative. It arises out of rejection of, and hatred for, others, especially but not exclusively the imperialist masters. Ironically but not surprisingly, it involves imitation of the same imperialists. Schizophrenia is thus built into nationalism and cannot be taken out.

In

THE

re  
nisters  
raging  
as in  
series,  
viewers  
that w  
"Yes, n  
means,  
enough,  
or even  
ministers  
find ho  
and cap  
mischief  
keep m.

As M  
former c  
Labour M  
life, the  
rom the  
lity clas  
es of vie  
vil serv  
ocracy.  
more, s  
re mor  
In his  
tried  
civil s  
prefe

Mir

iv



Nehru



In

THE  
re  
nisters  
raging  
as in  
series.  
viewers  
that w  
"Yes, n  
means,  
enough.  
or even  
ministers  
find how  
and cap  
mischief  
keep m.

As M  
former o  
Labour M  
life, the  
from the  
lity clas  
es of vie  
vil serv  
ocracy.  
more, s  
re mor  
In his  
tried  
civil  
pred

Jawaharlal Nehru

Lal Bahadur Shastri

# Ministers vs. Civil Servants

G. M. Bakshi

Indira Gandhi

G. S. Bajpai

Dharma Vira

L. K. Jha

Nehru



1967 and by the National Research Institute Melukote Collection



# The Plunder Of The Silk Road

By Chandak Sengoopta

anxious to invoke protection for their caravans or to give thanks for their safe return". Buddhism was not the only religion to be imported to China by the Silk Road. Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeism, each with its distinct artistic and literary traditions, also became entrenched—albeit less extensively—in the oasis towns surrounding the Taklamakan.

During the reign of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907)—sometimes described as the golden age of Chinese civilization—the Silk Road reached its zenith of activity. Ch'ang-an, the capital, opened its gates to foreigners and

contemptuously referred to as "Hu" or barbarians. "Gifts from foreign rulers were accepted by the imperial court as tribute and visiting princes and envoys received as vassals".

With the decline of the T'ang Dynasty, the Silk Road began its journey into history. The end, protracted over several centuries, was further ensured by the "drying-up of the glacier-fed streams which supplied the oasis towns" and the incursion of the Arabs with whom came Islam with its taboo on the portrayal of the human form in art. The Arabs destroyed statues and paintings and left the stupas and

structures that were guarded by ferocious spirits and demons. While the legends prevented indiscriminate plunder, local treasure hunters did exist and some of them unearthed several ancient manuscripts. Quite accidentally, one of these reached a British army intelligence officer, Lieutenant Hamilton Bower, who sent it to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta where it was deciphered after a great deal of effort by the Anglo-German Oriental scholar, Dr Augustus Rudolph Hoernle. The language turned out to be Sanskrit, the script Brahmi and the subjects medicine and necromancy. Dating from the 5th Century, the manuscript had probably been produced by Indian Buddhist monks.

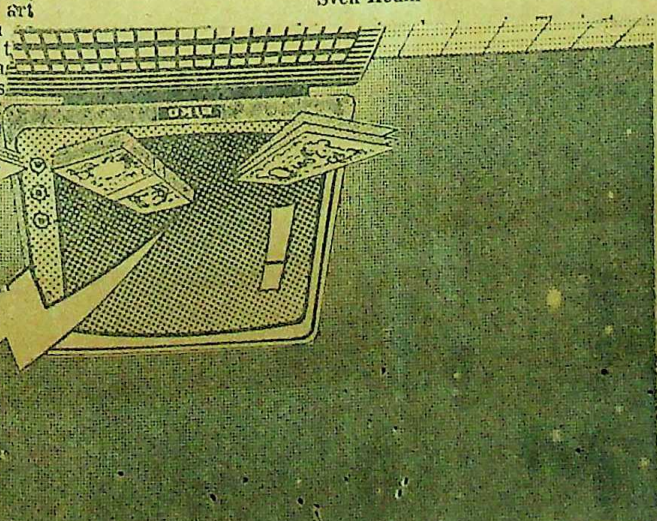
"The discovery of the Bower manuscript and its publication in Calcutta", Hoernle remarked, "started the whole modern movement of the archaeological exploration of Eastern Turkestan". There ensued, in fact, a virtual stampede for such manuscripts and the generous payments encouraged the shrewd treasure hunters of the region to slip in many forgeries. The credulous Dr Hoernle treated them all as genuine and it was Aurel Stein who unmasked the leading forger many years later during his first expedition to Chinese Central Asia.

In the history of the exploration of Chinese Central Asia, Sven Hedin is a veritable colossus. Having met him in 1890, before he had received international acclaim, Sir Francis Younghusband had written: "He impressed me as being of the true stamp for exploration—physically robust, genial, even tempered, cool and persevering... I envied him his linguistic ability, his knowledge of scientific subjects, and his artistic accomplishments. He seemed to possess every qualification of a scientific traveller". In all, Hedin conducted three expeditions into the malevolent depths of the Taklamakan. On his first trip, the water ran out. Two of his team-mates drank camel's urine and vomited in disgust while Hedin was forced to drink sheep's blood. Fortunately, an oasis was reached just in time for Hedin and another two to be saved. All the rest had by then succumbed.

The second foray was less calamitous and Hedin discovered two ruined cities from which he collected several art objects. However, it was the third expedition which was an unqualified



Sven Hedin



success. Ahmed's work, therefore, is a lot of good luck. Both call for immense sacrifice, freedom as it is to acquire it. But for a nation to sustain its comes home clear: it is as difficult as any. The message, however, is no remedy. Perhaps there is no remedy. Ahmed's book is a development of the world's knowledge of power, inevitable in the what extent is the rise of the autocratic while in office to times become more and more. It is merely to perpetuate their rule that liberal reformers work in such surreptitious so. To wonder if democracy can at and Latin America, one begins World countries of Asia, Africa and resource in the Third says the entire family of nations, disquieting. As one surveys in democracy are, doubt



That Sunday, the meat disappointing, and in both cases is ineffective, and in addition the latter is too long-winded and rambling to hold the reader's interest, while the former admittedly does at least that. In striking contrast, When the Wind Blows, almost as long as That Summer, is an eminent piece of writing, the successful piece of writing, the ineluctably brings to mind Hemingway's *Catcher in the Rye*. It is a delightful narrative of childhood and adolescence, of coming to terms with the elements, events and authority figures associated with the various stages of "growing up", and is rare for Sargeson—ends on an unequivocally positive note.

As a foil to the Sargeson contributions containing plot and development of character, stands a group of works concerned with World War II, in which the presentation and intention are quite different. Rather than a story being told, an incident or event is related, and the fabric is that of a verbal picture, vividly delineated. *Convoy Conversation* hignans the gamut of activity and folliomotion on a destroyer—from the bustle and heated exchange, to the excitement and an-turtlety and then the final relief when the danger is past. The description is so lively that one barely notices the intervention of a narrator. In another such appreciat. It Was D-Day recounts the thoughts and observations of a commander in the process of directing his landing craft during the Normandy invasion. One does not need to know that the author of both, Denis Glover, was indeed a Navy Lieutenant in charge of such a craft, to be touched at the very start by the unquestionable note of authenticity that is struck through the rare combination of first-hand experience and unusual literary intemerit.

In his From the Arctic seas and the beaches of Normandy, the scene shifts to Italy for A Night in the Country by Erik de Mauny, which describes one of what must have been many such nights spent in a requisitioned village by a division of soldiers. A charming sketch of the interregnum between the end of one day's advance and the start of the next. Like *Convoy Conversation* and It Was D-Day, it is served particularly by a marvellous invocation of atmosphere, and, trans despite the situation of war, recharged with verve and humour. In *Transit* offers another aspect of de Mauny's diction: it is a serious account of an encounter between an Arab and an Englishman sharing a tent in a

nomy of words, doubtless intended to compress and add force to the narrative, fails, overall, to achieve the desired intention. As a result, In *Transit* appears vague, and Under the Bridge, tame, with neither author fully realizing the potential of his subject.

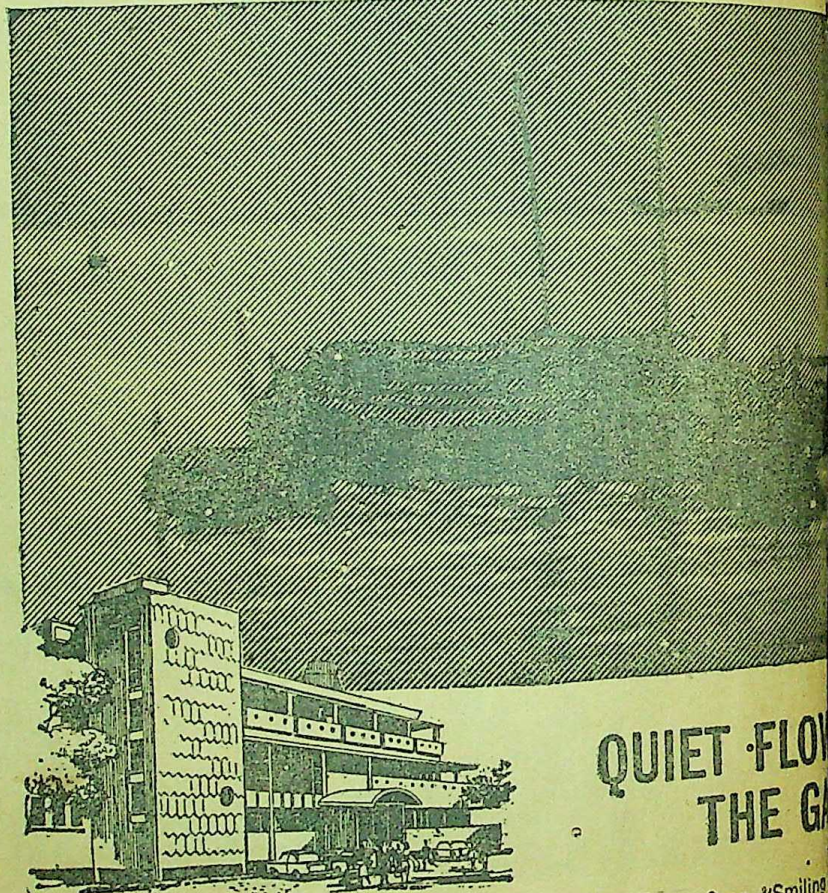
A curious feature of the writing represented in this book, is that the setting is not, contrary to expectation, centred around New Zealand. Greville Texidor's Epilogue spans a vast geographical distance, with a young man making a journey from Madrid to New Zealand to meet the parents of a friend and combatant killed in the Spanish Civil War. It is finely told, and moving, as is Santa Cristina by the same author—a haunting and almost surrealist representation of a Spanish motif. A totally separate product is Anna Kavan's *The Red Dogs*, an aggressively futuristic effort.

The piece de resistance is the

the victory of intuition. An anthology is usually a term for a collection of verse, and Celebration is not lacking in this respect. The poems included blend well with the tone of the whole, and add a special and worthwhile dimension to the book. Allen Curnow's verse tends to be rather cerebral, but with the minor chord refrain so typical of all the works in this collection. Nevertheless, they are tough and imaginative pieces of writing—Landfall in Unknown Seas composed on the 300th anniversary of Tasman's discovery of New Zealand, is especially powerful. In *These Islands* by Charles Brasch is the poetic expression of the spirit most manifested in this volume—an ethos of transience, of rootlessness:

"Always in these islands, meeting and parting Shake us...

distance looks our way; And none knows where he



## QUIET FLOW THE G

Weary and tired? The immemorial Ganga is a refreshing river. "Smiling in the morning sunlight...full of mystery as the evening shadows fall, almost as the sea...the Ganga has been a symbol and memory of the past, flowing into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future." And Harbour particularly, the majestic sea-bound river has a certain atmosphere deep, you never see, never feel elsewhere.

The Tourist Centre at Diamond Harbour has furnished lounge, restaurant for visitors. It provides both luxury and economy accommodation. Book Reservation Counter of the West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation, 3/2, Benoy-Badal-Dinesh Bagh (East), Calcutta-700 001, Phone: 235917. Connected directly with Calcutta by bus and train. 48 km. by road south-east of Diamond Harbour is Bakkhali on the Bay of Bengal.

For further information please contact:  
**TOURIST BUREAU**  
3/2, Benoy-Badal-Dinesh Bagh (East), Calcutta-700 001  
Phone: 23-8271 Gram: TRAVELTIPS  
Government of West Bengal

## Leader Babu

major policy decisions by an excessive concern for India—the big and powerful neighbour to whom Bangladesh was indebted for its freedom. Maybe at times his Bengali sentimentalism got the better of his reason. The fact that Mujib lived a hero and died a martyr, the author concedes, is sufficient testimony to his status as a legend of our times. Yet, for the rise of the army to power in his state, Ahmed holds Mujib's policies squarely responsible.

The murky happenings in Bangladesh, and in particular, the failure of Mujib's experiment, what was going on, well before the Lok Sabha poll which only underscores that the Janata and Lok Dal governments

Centre, at any rate, were unleashed by them were strengthened further by the political instability ushered in by the fourth general election in 1967 and by

was accepted by the other "imperial services" almost as a matter of course. Today, the IAS has become a target of attack and abuse by the IPS and other all-India

alas, is not less than what weighs on the minds of most of the people as they see the

returned with his became the rage of the publicity he re- other orientalists to the Taklamakan by The Germans and the there in 1902, an international bonanza Central Asia. "It was a time it was over, to the archaeologists. However, there is a rampant rancour between competitors since the east and unexplored satisfy all claimants successful German led by Albert von discoveries included usual frescoes, stat- and tapestries of more than Buddhist monks, mur- wall-paintings re- Germans were in the Ethnological Berlin. They could down during World were completely de- the Germans left, returned to the during this second Stein made the of his career. A named Wang discovered a secret manuscripts at the of the Thousand Han-huang. Thanks al reverence for Stein and Wang hit only well. Using a nature of amity and soon inveigled him enter the ed the small room, abed with wonder, ed in the dim light a little lamp a solid script bundles ris- of nearly 10 feet, subsequent mea- ved, close on 500 the library yielded manuscripts in Chl- Sogdian, Tibetan, w- known languages. also many rare ex- ddhist art of the 20 And among the ma- the Diamond May 11, 868) which the oldest printed world. Stein purchas- tion of this collec- 2130. discovering this equivalent of the bolls, Stein also un- remains of a west- of China's Great the site of the state — "that histo- set through which out going traffic Road had to be crossed the Takla- perious southward which he got frost- to the toes of his to be amputated. entered the Cen- fairly late. Their the young, talen- times rather over- east Paul Pelliot, hi- han-huang months In- departed with ever, there was for all and Wang th- as cheaply as a thousands of li- a feverish pace, by a rich selec-



# Magnificent F

hman co

than mere gold orion and bought it for about £90. In France, however, his feat gave rise to a wave of envy and resentment, which was further aggravated by Pelliot's reputation for intellectual arrogance. His academic career did not suffer but he never succeeded in raising funds for a second expedition.

The Russians were even slower than the French in exhibiting interest in the region. In spite of Central Asia being within their geographical orbit, they discovered little and removed less. Their only significant discovery was of Karakhoto ("the Black City") which lies immediately inside the present Sino-Mongolian border and was described by Marco Polo as "the City of Etzina".

Aurel Stein soon returned for his third trip which turned out to be another roaring success. He managed to get hold of a second load of manuscripts from Tun-huang, thanks to the ever obliging Wang. He also thoroughly explored Karakhoto, finding much that the Russians had missed. His last coup was the exploration of the enormous cemetery at Astana which dated from the 5th Century. Aided by a friendly grave-robber, Stein stripped the cemetery with a thoroughness that can only be described as ghoulish. He did not even flinch at removing the silk wrappings of the corpses.

Eight years after Stein's third expedition, the Americans came down to the Taklamakan. The race, by then, was almost over. The expedition, commanded by the distinguished art historian and archaeologist Langdon Warner, was to achieve very little. The Chinese had begun to display marked hostility to foreigners, the weather was even worse than usual and the whole region was swarming with robbers. Warner's second expedition had an even worse fate and was soon abandoned. His sponsors, however, refused to give up and approached Sir Aurel Stein, who was then aged 67 but agreed to try his luck for one last time. But he, too, was stumped by the new attitude of the Chinese government and its subjects, although he did manage to travel "some 2000 miles around the Taklamakan oases, mapping and gathering for his sponsors what meagre archaeological material he could, in the face of continual obstruction".

Four years earlier, Sven Hedin had faced an identical situation, even though he had been invited by the Chinese government "to reconnoitre a route for a new Berlin-Urumchi-Peking air link". There could no longer be any doubt about it: the treasures of Chinese Central Asia had passed permanently beyond the reach of foreigners.

Peter Hopkirk's racy (though rather superficial) account of the rediscovery and archaeological plunder of the Silk Road is a fascinating tale of adventure, scholarship and avarice. From the Chinese viewpoint, it is also a chronicle of the most egregious thefts in the history of archaeology. We Indians, who have been subjected to similar but less exhaustive treatment, can sympathize with the bitterness and anger of the Chinese who were literally robbed of their history by the white explorers. Yet, it would be rather simplistic to

condemn these explorers un- seem, it is an undeniable — equivocally. It ought to be re- and unpalatable — fact that membered that the Central much has survived only by virtue of being "stolen" by such Asian treasures had been totally neglected by the Chinese authorities as Stein and Pelliot and had lain at the mercy of every kind of vandal for hundreds of years. However in- supportable the removals might and fortitude.



• Sir Aurel Stein •



Ma  
an Englishman c  
the acting skills whi  
performance on  
Nanporia writes

DOE

Supar

ba

bul wo

matter

of a n

comme

religio

tain i

we un

Doe

televis

efficien

no, in

lous S

plainin

ster, a

they b

that

Doore

degre

crisi

sions

ave

is

ever

in

the

his

ing

tra

per

or

desir

rare

tion

miss

at th

was

the

mon

I. K

e s

aint

seed

ear

ta  
ve  
se  
M  
fo  
re  
da  
de  
un  
hi  
fo  
iso  
a  
nu  
the  
of  
ap  
ad  
m  
po  
th  
ni  
c  
In  
se  
Br  
fre  
in  
h  
or  
Th  
cl  
sa  
ta  
—  
nis  
rea  
ser  
nei  
tra  
ch  
poi  
api  
as  
lat  
go  
as  
cu  
Sa  
sh  
to  
to  
wa  
ore  
ye  
col  
cor  
tea  
vis  
the  
ch  
ta  
su  
ni  
tha  
mi  
ler  
di  
of  
ma  
what  
well

which only underscores that the Janata and Lok Dal governments  
mened further by the political in-  
stability ushered in by the fourth  
general election in 1967 and by  
come a target of attack and abuse  
by the IPS and other all-India  
days for they were with  
ses and strains as they are



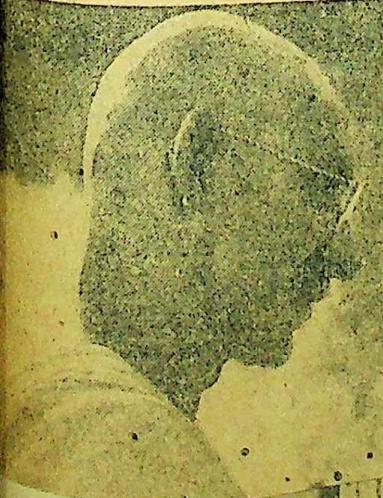
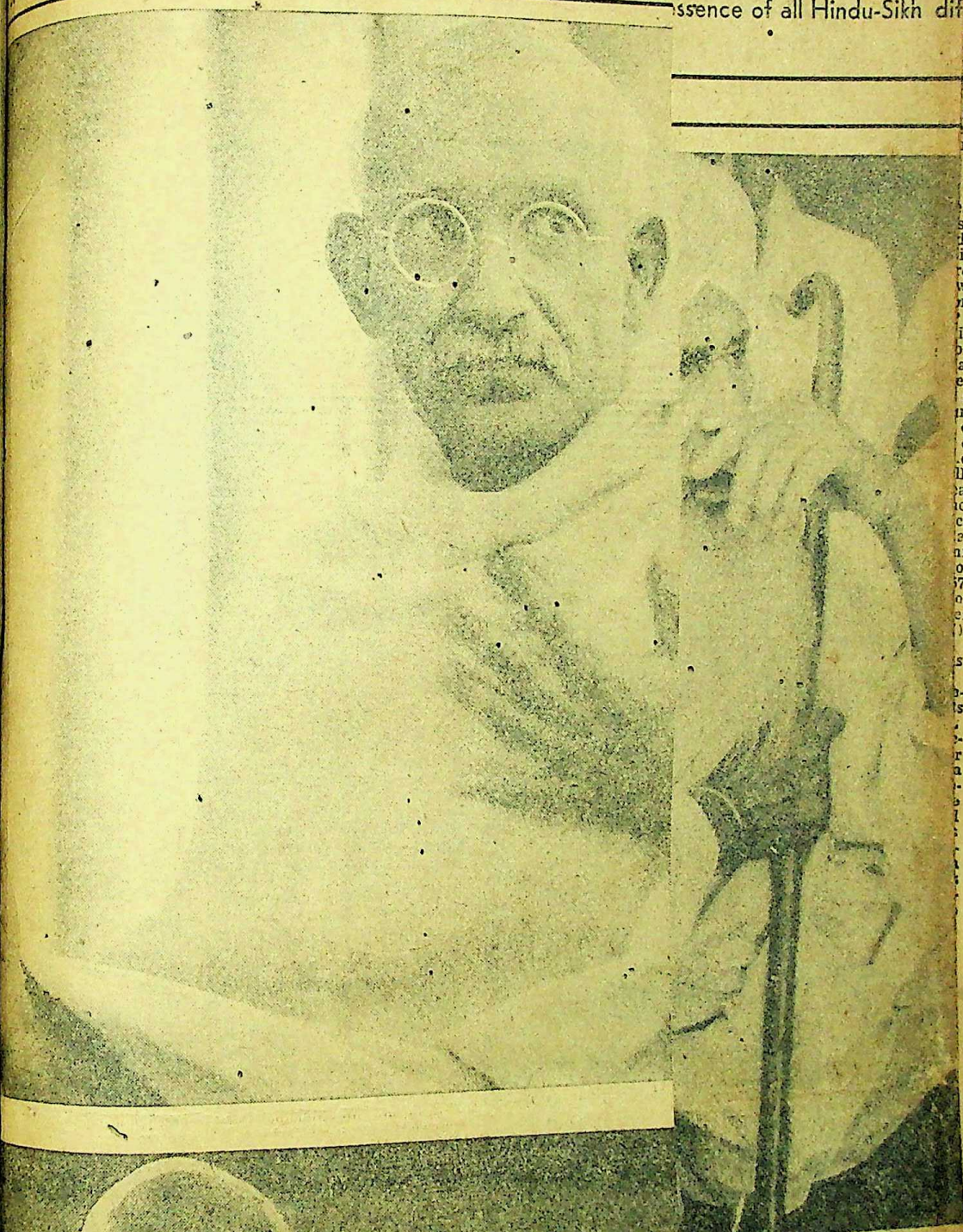
# Magnificent F

an Englishman conscious of the nature of imperialism could H  
the acting skills which Attenborough mobilised must truly have b  
the performance one can say little that does not sound superfluous

Nanporia writes after seeing Attenborough's "Gandhi." The film their mother-tongue, Pun

# Sto

essence of all Hindu-Sikh dif



mutual affection that  
d said much about their  
s but even more about  
tive perceptions that be-  
govern Indo-British rela-  
win and Gandhiji laugh-  
her over Churchill's re-

more, and a deflec-  
tion of the film's current in this  
direction would have been un-  
warranted. As it is the scene of  
the old peasant in his hut des-  
cribing the hard lot of the oppres-  
ed comes dangerously close to  
tattered convention.

Then there are Gandhiji's words  
on tyranny and how it is van-  
quished in the end, spoken on  
his fasting bed, and repeated by  
a voice as the film ends. No  
doubt tyranny is defeated finally  
but so is everything else. In the  
entire range of Gandhiji's com-  
ments, spoken and written, could  
not something a little more  
comfort.

Phaniphan, who betrays  
his heart to end his vacilla-  
tion, finally gets a bullet



# The

Brezhnev did not  
crat all his life and  
than a revolutiona

He was expected to last and  
ature of the Soviet Union a  
world without him had b  
subject of talk months befor  
ied. On his death the usual  
utes were paid in his mem  
but few thought it wise to spe  
out "the effect on international  
affairs".

It is customary to talk of voids  
and the difficulty of filling them

is usually troubled. That it  
was apparently no jockeying  
power on the death of Brezh  
and that Yuri Andropov step



## Art Talk

A poet may affect  
most ardently  
convictions and  
a good poet. A  
ist or playwright  
move in direc  
pugnant to o  
psychic respo  
still attain the  
of eminence.

by Nissim En

In the world  
to meet a good  
from it, and  
others. Eventua  
will become a clear  
their better education  
further  
they. In real life, the  
and you corrupt  
ed on a concentration  
his region is with  
not bring it to date  
any near change o  
not be a progressive  
progressive of  
in any space. It makes

Russia only drunk  
during the day  
chev who in the  
though to some is

other night as I w  
from an electio  
happened to pass  
Suddenly I heard th  
Bharat ki ja  
age-old ci  
by the ki ja'. A  
Bhambhendra ki ja'. A  
a group of worker  
to a recitation  
which is offer  
by the most popula  
cries, 'Raja Ram  
ki ja' etc. But th  
a national cry ha  
with this religiou  
respectability as t  
deout cry gripped m  
signified nothing shor  
mental revolution  
people. The Revolu  
almost matured, I  
This was Jayaprakash  
writing about his ex  
in the Bihar country  
campaigning during  
assembly elections  
The Congress won 98  
seats in the Bihar  
Of all-British India  
it won 716.  
to this massive vic  
legitimized the Con  
to be a parallel  
to the British Raj?  
own's explanation is  
campaign managers  
professional in their  
and took pains both to  
direct mass appeals to  
write and to approach  
local men and institu  
and community lead-



Neh  
'vote banks', ver  
message to their in  
C.P. Congress tho  
a powerful

which is no de  
French and p  
assertion of  
assimilation  
were the lan  
Portuguese on  
ous poetic trad  
English back to  
poet try to es  
note poetry in  
bally the elect  
handed).

which only underscores that the  
Janata and Lok Dal governments

strenghened further by the political in-  
stability ushered in by the fourth  
general election in 1967 and by

come a target of attack and abuse  
by the IPS and other all-India

days as they cope with  
ses and strains as best as



# India From Above And Below

By Chandan Mitra

1937, the Congress's real strength lay in its local units' ability to manipulate would seem a rather incomplete explanation. For then, this is precisely the face-saver the U.P. Governor Harry Haig had used to explain away to Linlithgow why his prediction of a Congress defeat had proved so disastrously off the mark.

Judith Brown's analysis of the period 1937-39 and the Quit

most recent historical work. This is where Judith Brown does not come up to expectations. From the author of two earlier, widely read books, *Gandhi's Rise to Power, 1915-22*, and *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience, 1922-34*, students might be forgiven for expecting a comprehensive account of the Raj, and one which analyses, if not re-examines, modern Indian

British administration deeper into Indian society it generated various levels of responses which intensified over time. A loose aggregation of these responses eventually took shape in the form of the Indian National Congress which, (as in the words of Anil Seal), remained a "ramshackle coalition". The structure of the Congress, in turn, was deliberately intended to match that of the Raj. As the British set up more representative institutions, the Indians found it necessary to create their own structures to exploit the Raj's framework. And as Judith Brown puts it, Indians learnt everything quite quickly. In time, these institutional structures provided the essence of the democratic framework in the post-Independence Republic.

The book, however, provides a great deal of information especially through tables. Judith Brown reproduces or compiles a large number of these from diverse sources and this will help students in grasping some facts at a glance.

The elitist school of Indian historiography is acutely uncomfortable when analysing mass movements and this is apparent from Judith Brown, especially as she has to deal with a fair number starting with the uprising of 1857. Her confident dismissal of the civil unrest as "elitist...not really supported by the really poor or landless", might appear glib even to those who may not fully agree with recent research which shows 1857 to be a popular rebellion of considerable magnitude. Her approving quotation of a report in *The Times* in 1857, "What a life must be that of the Oudh peasant! Which ever side wins, he is sure to lose", might seem particularly inappropriate in the light of recent historical studies.

In fact, the disaggregated analysis of the events of 1857 sets the theme for similar assessments of later risings. This becomes particularly evident in her treatment of the Quit India movement of 1942. For an uprising which shook British rule in India to its very roots and which Linlithgow described as "wholly revolutionary in character", Judith Brown's narration is remarkably sketchy. She is not wrong in quoting the Secretary of State for writing one year after the event: "it looks as if India has never been so quiet politically as it is at this moment".

Where she errs is in not examining how the movement acquired its magnitude and momentum; why, for instance, the peasants of eastern U.P. and Bihar followed the exhortations of young students to revolt; why such massive force had to be deployed to contain the insurrection; why Hugh Lane, sent to Ballia as District Magistrate in September 1942, wrote: "It was like visiting a conquered country: not only had nearly every Government building and piece of equipment been either destroyed or heavily damaged by the rebels but a punitive putsch by the military police had recalled the inhabitants not merely to sanity but to abject subservience."

India phase is important in as much as it reaffirms what a reader is likely to feel from page one: it is a history from above, based on archival records and official reports. It is a detailed overview but the minutiae are not enough to overcome the inadequacy of analysis.

She laments: "To understand a deeper and wider range of Indian perceptions of problems posed by the British presence we need more knowledge of the

history in the light of recent trends in Indian historiography.

What emerges, however, is a somewhat patchy account, strong on Viceregal actions and official attitudes, but inadequate on the people of India, their response to British rule and above all, nationalism. Considering that the book is clearly intended as a basic text, ideology has been allowed too overbearing a presence. Serious students of Indian



Nehru, Gandhiji and Sardar Patel

vernacular Press and also fiction history for whom her other books are recommended reading though she makes this observation.

Direct Demanding officers may please send their orders for model computer 85 (size-422x315x80 mm) and computer 115 (size-422x315x115 mm) Grams: ENT08U, TEL: 8/29 Kirti Nagar, India. Phones: 531260, 531261.

**Tobu** Moulded by  
Tobu Enterprises  
English poetry in  
bally the effect  
huado), or try  
poets try to  
ous poetic trad  
Portuguese on  
were the lang  
assimilation, b  
assertion of  
French and  
there is no de  
which is, inst  
a  
message to their  
C.P. Congress  
a powerful

perhaps but that may be how  
the police. A small spark  
came up as a trouble maker  
some other villagers has been  
countenanced that he with  
however, a totally bewildered  
precisely the hate villagers  
asks one of his men, Jonathan,  
for compensation. Rishang  
be people for the long delayed  
alled to voice the demands of  
all for treatment. A meeting is  
shang is going away to Guwa  
the story is at the end, when  
lest and most telling part of  
ous race for all. But the sad-  
a his heart to end his vachin-  
Videssche, finally gets a bullet  
punishment, who betrays



Research Institute, Melukote Collection



*e Janus Face Of  
Bankimchandra*

By Nityapriya Ghosh

There was an incident in the British Museum which brings into focus the point of view of the British people. The Hindu, who is in the book under review, is the book under review, though, and that they like to add, largely. Despite this, Bankim continues to debate outside of how Manu compares His sociological (the reference to Carey), or how pronounced in the subject of apostolic mission.

the much of  
and and  
ria. What  
his con-  
later, that  
ken poison

"begun" of the  
 comparing the reason  
 England and  
 and that "if one  
 ne an article of  
 two countries  
 and that "the  
 by the imposi-  
 is considered  
 ish would pro-  
 g the natives  
 rmented Liber-  
 y Montgom-  
 ighright. He  
 20 years  
 s in this coun-  
 the moral char-  
 a great deal  
 character of the  
 ry, taking into  
 he said that  
 he resided  
 300,000 in the  
 00,000 in the  
 "there were  
 for every  
 years; whereas  
 on alone, he  
 mitments in  
 of polygamy and  
 and abhorrence of  
 age have been mysti-  
 continues to be  
 figure. Not much is  
 on, outside of what he  
 ered himself through  
 a stern and austere  
 not many dared to  
 privacy. An exas-  
 is on record say-  
 had been the butt of  
 and hostile critic-  
 these critics dare  
 in similar fashion?  
 ar Das's book\* stands  
 the many books on  
 because it succinctly  
 the facets of Bankim's  
 relates these with his  
 s. In the process, he  
 ed with much of the  
 usually attaches itself  
 as Bankim. Das how-  
 and quite mislead-  
 he says in the intro-  
 he has meant the  
 who do not know  
 is doubtful if readers  
 appreciate Bankim if they  
 on Bengali, for Bankim  
 vorously and indiffer-  
 dated

the earliest translators of S. Knight (The 1824, Krishnakanta's The Globe of Gold, it was suggested in should translate the stories, Tagore the honour. Other missed the magic prose without which unreadable. The novels is medicine Das seeks to es Bankim explored con- values in terms of dance and history, sions from his stories from the interactions socio-political con- chival Indian "tradi- Bankim epitomizes recovery from a long, mpor, it is unlikely would be read out society, except by of Bengali liter-

damath) and colonial servility (introduction to Anandamath) between modernity and medievalism, between his concern for the peasantry and equal concern for the zaminders (his criticism of Mir Mosharraf Hossain's Zami-dardarpan), between his scientific outlook and his traditionalism (his efforts to reconstruct Krishna as a historical and rational figure).

Das views Bankim as an artist in chains, his radiant creativity occasionally succumbing to social inhibitions, the artist in him seeking and relating the truth which was at times vitiated by the prejudices of the times. Above all, Bankim was a product of British colonialism. But, are not all artists in chains and do not all colonial writers suffer from the same contradictions? Should we not try and seek the reason of the contradictions in Bankim's own character and circumstances, without blaming it on the cosmic weakness of a colonial universe?

To take an example, when in 1873 the Vernacular Press Act was passed in India, people were startled to see Bankim supporting the Act. Bankim was alleged to have remarked that much of the general feeling of distrust towards the Government was due to the action of the vernacular Press. It was hard to believe that the creator of "Bransonism" and "Muchiram's", the fierce critic of servility to the English rulers and the champion of the freedom of mind, the inspirer of Indian self-respect could defend the Act.



patently malicious?  
Das, however, is

Das has posed the question, but does not, in the absence of available facts, try to offer the answer. This is the strength of the study. A thorough knowledge of Bankim's life and works is evident in the work, but the author has refrained from unverifiable theorizing, a trait which often mars current Bengali critical writings. Das strictly limits himself to known and accepted facts, without venturing into the mire of speculation.

however, one has reservations regarding some of Das's observations. \*Almost like Euripides's Iphigenia she (Manorama in the novel "Mrinalini" changes swiftly from one realm of experience to another", says the author, after mentioning that Manorama was described by an earlier critic as Mona Lisa. One would have thought that Das would admit that such comparisons are puerile and odious. Bankim's world and Euripides's world were not of the same mould and such association tends to hinder a correct appreciation.

More misleading is the association of Bankim with Marx. When Bankim defended the British rule in India, he did it on the conviction that Western education would help revive the Hindus. In this context, Das approvingly quotes Marx who said that, "England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material



Rankin, Chandra Chatterji

German gentleman, who acted for  
 some time as a "volunteer secre-  
 tary" to the sage of Chelsea. The  
 letter is quoted in Macmillan's  
 Magazine for August:—  
 1849.  
 Madame C. thanks you for your  
 offer of a cat. She is, however,  
 already supplied, and has a cat  
 named "Maud".  
 Rankin Chandra Chatterji  
 said the Duke of Marlborough the  
 Lovers of art in India—and there  
 are many—will be gratified to learn  
 that the famous Anisid Madonna,  
 Raphael's masterpiece, and the  
 grandest picture in the world, has  
 become the property of the Natio-  
 nal Gallery. The Government has  
 purchased it for £100,000.

September 30, 1884.  
 (Editorial Note)

**BANKIMCHANDRA**  
(Continued)

(Continued from Page 1)

that if we accept the foreword we would have to dismiss the novel as irrelevant, because the latter does not give the impression that the revolutionaries were self-destructive or that the Sanatanis were preaching anarchy in Bengal. In fact, this was a rabidly anti-British novel preaching militant nationalism and has been a landmark in the history of the freedom struggle of India. What was the import of the foreword then? A camouflage, a development of cold feet, or an unaccountable contradiction in Bankim's character? Marx never thought of this type of contradiction when he talked of the positive aspect of the British rule in India.

This is, however, a minor blemish in an otherwise worthwhile book. Unlike the usual run of academics, Das has the courage of calling a spade a spade. He has the guts to say that though Vande Mataram as a patriotic song has few equals it contains a few verses which are not only mediocre but ridiculous. He can denounce as well as praise: "It has got all the defects of Bankim's art—his tendency to pontificate, his theatricality, his crude burlesque, his mock-heroism, his dull and predictable rhetoric and his frequent intervention of deus ex machina".

He can write this of a man whom he considers one of the finest writers in the country. Aurbindo said of Bankim that he was able to create a language, a literature, and a nation. Das has taken the cue and elaborates the observation splendidly. And that gives us hope that the pursuit will not be halted. Bankim inspired the growth of novels in many Indian languages," says Das in his introduction. Novels as structured by Bankim gave a new direction to Indian literature. But Das seems to have a reservation—"whether it was beneficial or not is a matter of debate." The debate can be fruitful.



THE history of Calcutta in the first half of the 18th Century remains a never-ending source of interest and speculation. Yes, speculation—for the official records of Calcutta were all destroyed during Shiraj-ud-dowla's attack and occupation of the city in 1756. Hence, the supreme importance of non-official reports and letters, including those of travellers.

The latter half of the same century witnessed the phenomenal growth and consolidation of British power in India, primarily from the citadel of Calcutta. It was in this city, again, that the experiments in imperial administration were conceived and tried out. Though official records of this period are in abundance, the first-hand reports of travellers and residents continue to enliven the archives of chroniclers.

P. T. Nair's book\*, a compila-

## By Jawhar Sircar

tion of the impressions of 15 European travellers who visited 18th Century Calcutta, provides those interested in Calcutta's history with a rare opportunity to get a lot of valuable information in one volume of 320 pages. The compiler has taken considerable pains to present all the available but scattered primary historical records on the subject in an orderly keepsake. Some of the

\*Calcutta in the 18th Century Impressions of Travellers. Compiled by P. Thampi Nair. (Firma KLM Rs. 85)

even better with some, more scissors-work.

Repetitions are there—as is inevitable. We get almost a dozen descriptions of the journey from the sea to Calcutta; we get narratives on the Ganges and the rituals centering around the holy river; we get recitals on "Gentoo Customs". Though vexing at times, these repetitions have the effect of mentally transporting the reader to that period and also give the critic a chance to observe the subtle changes that the city and neighbouring landscape underwent from the first to the last decade of the century. A word of caution—the same name does not necessarily mean the same thing. Writers who refer to "Fort William" in the first sixty years of the century connote the fortified area where the present-day GPO stands. Travellers who mention it in the latter part of the 18th Century meant the present-day Fort William that stands where the village of Gobindapur once was.

Speaking of names, the writers had a field-day when it came to the spelling of Indian names. Calcutta is called Golgotha, Golicatan, Gollicata, Coulicatta or Golconthe. Hijili becomes Hidgellie, Ingaley or Ingellie, just as Khejuri becomes Kedgerie, Kidgerie, Kedgerlie, Kidgerie or Cadgerie. The standardization of the British Raj was obviously yet to come.

The editor starts with an extract from Alexander Hamilton's A New Account of the East Indies which is one of the earliest English works on India and the Far East. Captain Hamilton's style has the distinct stamp of

(Continued on Page II)

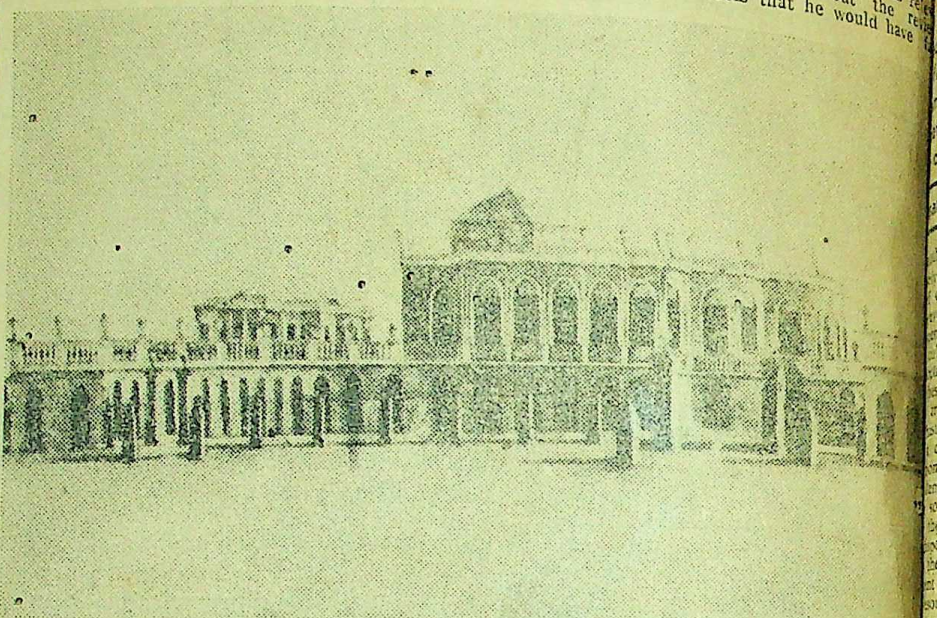
# GLIMPSSES OF OLD CALCUTTA

narrators like Captain Hamilton, Mrs. Fay, De Grandpre and Stavorinus are well-known, while others like James Mitchell and William Mackintosh are less famous. Nair has dug up a few like Father Ripa and the "Unknown Scotsman" about whom even serious researchers had hardly known. The writings and extracts are given verbatim and

footnotes are, in most cases, original.

The 15 travellers present a rather medley line-up. There are seafarers: a Dutch admiral, an English Captain, a naval surgeon, as also a Captain's clerk. An Italian padre, a French armyman and an English painter are put together with a map-maker and a gunner. A couple of Civil Ser-

vants and housewives are too, for good measure. Natural differences, styles and temperaments do give us at least fragments of the picture of life in 18th Century Calcutta. Nair has poured out only what is relevant to Calcutta, but the reader feels that he would have



Old Government House in 1799

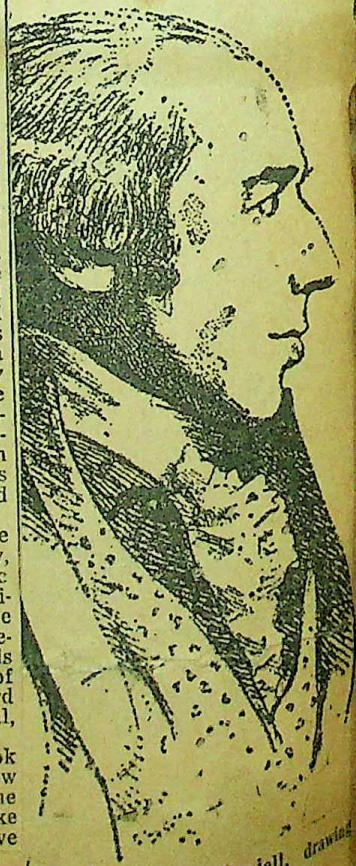
amous duel, as also of the politics of the Company's administration and the Supreme Court.

One wonders why Hodges, the painter, has been included by Nair as his sketches are far better than the few words he has penned. Monsieur De Grandpre, the French Army Officer who came to Calcutta in 1789 and 1790, covers the period when the English roots were striking deeper into Indian soil. Yet, the Frenchmen perceived even then that though "England rules the country, were the Indians to unite is a single point only, her power would soon be at an end". His perceptions into the communal divisions, among Indians and the chances of rioting if a Hindu Puja and a Muslim festival came together on the same date, shows an uncommon insight for his times. He is all praise for the local clerks and babus: "the ease with which these people learn any thing is wonderful". The gradual subjugation of the native economy is also depicted—"the English have established manufactories for printed linens in the neighbourhood of Calcutta that in no long time will totally ruin those manufactured by the natives of Patna, which are greatly inferior". But not all his descriptions were correct: Madam Dourga (goddess Durga) and his confusion over Bengalis and "Bramins", are examples.

Twining, who writes in the closing years of the 18th Century, describes the majestic architecture that adorned Calcutta. Britannia had really begun to "rule the waves" and opulence had become a way of life. His portrayals of William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society, and Lord Wellesley, the Governor General, are quite good.

The illustrations in the book could have been better. A few plates from Zoffany, Hodges, the Daniells, Solvyns and the like could have been included to give life to the text.

ary William Hodges, R. A. Engraving by William Daniell, drawing by George Dance.



## Knowledge

each new field of knowledge has become a subject to be subjected to a mindless study of venerable old ones.

anthe Surya

of this book is in critical of the whole of the Indian and the

of knowledge is seemingly indestructible. Fairly early in the history of the population, the population was on a comfortable plateau of development. The population did a fair job of social tensions and or the division of labour, the population were accept- the whole. The natural resources were abundant, the population was a stable agricul- The people lived in villages and the population because there was an urgent need for new discoveries, know- the phenomenal to be looked upon as unimportant.

begin to matter to a person was the know- led to mukti or sal- by knowing which becomes known". the knowledge of Brah- Supreme Reality, and if one of the twice-born, access to the Vedas, and a chance that you were it and gain mukti. If you were a Sudra, denied this knowledge, nevertheless acknowledged the importance by venerating the and thus climbing the ladder

## As Revelation

ter," says the Katho- can never be compre- hended by an inferior per- unless it is taught by cannot be learnt. It is the subtlest, and it is the subject of logic." By "happening", this know- ledge is to the guru, who admits it to a worthy (obedient and passive) who may not doubt, or upon what has been en- for safe keeping, disturbs the author is







# In Place Of God

Freud popularised the view that the survival and procreation instincts dominate human lives. Nietzsche familiarised us with our innate drive for power which must include the search for fame and wealth. He spoke of superman long before Sri Aurobindo sought to marry the traditional Indian concepts of yoga with the Western theories of evolution to put forward the breath-taking concept that it is within our power to speed up the process of producing a race of Supermen. In terms of the Hindu tradition this was a heresy and that is perhaps one reason why it has not caught on. Outside the small group of his followers it is difficult to find anyone who believes that through the practice of what he called "integral yoga" we can bring down supra-consciousness and implant it on our earth.

But whatever the form it takes, there is planted in the heart of man the irrepressible desire to excel and, indeed, exceed himself. This desire is as strong as Freud's survival and procreation instincts and Nietzsche's will to power. Surprising though it may seem, the scheme to fecundate "specially intelligent women" with the sperm of Nobel laureates is also an expression of this powerful human passion. In the adjoining article, Keswani traces it back to Plato, who under the influence of man's success in domesticating certain animals came to believe that ideal human beings could be similarly bred and brought up. In fact we can trace it back at least to the Shamans in Central Asia and the yogis in India a millennium earlier. There is, of course, a big difference between the yogi's emphasis on training in self-control and Plato's on breeding. But the objectives are similar — a growing body of superior men.

All civilisations have sought some measure of control over nature. In fact man becomes civilised only in the process of reducing his dependence on chase, fishing and gathering of roots and fruits for his survival and takes to agriculture. Agriculture is the beginning of control over nature and civilisation. But Western man has been specially relentless in his search for control over nature. He has pushed this search so far that he is in danger of upsetting the ecological balance to the extent of endangering life on earth. But he will not rest content with his achievements. He will not give up his pursuit whatever the consequences. And just as he has sought to remake nature, he must seek to refashion man himself. Genetic engineering will be his new powerful tool in his enterprise. Genetic engineering will soon become as commonplace as antibiotics. Governments will try to control developments in this field in view of stern warnings knowledgeable individuals have issued about the possible consequences. But the process cannot be reversed. "Nobel sperm" is not an aberration. It is part of the Western man's effort to banish God and take his place.

ON THIS SIDE

THE intense scholastic interest which persists in the Indus valley civilisation is measured by the conference held in Srinagar this year, and by the continuing flow of papers on the subject. New material and important information has been unearthed in the more recent excavations within India, at Kalibangan and Lothal. Some of the interpretations by Sir John Marshall, Mackay and Sir Mortimer Wheeler are now open to challenge by the contemporary archaeologists. To cite just two examples, the hypothesis concerning the Aryan destruction of the ancient cities, and the part of the vast empire ruled from capitals is now laid open for argument.

In this context, the papers brought together in *Ancient Cities of the Indus* and edited by Dr. B. B. Lal, will serve as an essential source of information. Forty-three articles have been included, to represent the work of thirty authors for a comprehensive study of this civilisation. The selection has been made from accessible certain papers which had appeared in remote journals that are not rarely to be found even in libraries. Priority has been given to new papers over older ones, although a few of the classics have been included. The words of the author, concise and to the point, have been given preference over the more lengthy treatments. Above all, a breadth of view is represented, which offers scope for discussion and theory rather than do the microscopic treatment by most individual archaeologists.

The papers are organised into sections, each section being introduced with a short introductory note by the editor. These sections carry subtitles such as 'Past and Present', 'Historical interest', 'Contemporary interest', 'The West', 'The Major settlements', 'The Environment', 'The Economy', 'Radio Carbon Chronology', and so on. Significantly, no section is included on religion, art or on art and aesthetics. This reflects the bias of the editor, who is influenced by the prevailing trends of thought today, which emphasise the anthropological, the ecological and the ecological points of view. It is a pity that the editor has not maintained an embarrassment on the antiquities which have been the essential concern of the archaeologists.

Among the individual papers, the one by Cunningham on the account on Harappa, published in 1875 A.D., is most interesting for a reconstruction of the appearance of the civilisation before excavation. Marzban's paragraph to his book *Light on a Long Forgotten Civilisation* is dramatic. It can be sensed some of the excitement which the archaeologists upon the discovery of a new civilisation, the Aryans, Marzban.

Often has it been given to the archaeologists, as it was given to Hermann at Tiryns and to Stein in the desert of Turkestan, to light the remains of a long civilisation. It looks at this moment, as if on the threshold of

**ANCIENT CITIES OF THE INDUS**  
Edited By Gregory Posse  
Publishing House  
New Delhi, Rs. 150).



# An Ancient Civilisation Unearthed

THE intense scholastic interest which persists in the Indus valley civilisation is measured by the conference held in Srinagar this year, and by the continuing flow of papers on the subject. New material and important information has been unearthed in the more recent excavations within India, at Kalibangan, Lothal. Some of the interpretations by Sir John Marshall, Mackay and Sir Mortimer Wheeler are now openly challenged by the contemporary archaeologists. To cite just two examples, the hypothesis regarding the Aryan destruction of the ancient cities, and the fact of the vast empire ruled from capitals is now laid open for argument.

In this context, the papers brought together in *Ancient Cities of the Indus* and edited by Dr. Gregory Possehl serve as an essential source. Forty-three articles have been included, to represent the work of thirty authors for a comprehensive study of this civilisation. The selection has been made accessible; certain papers had appeared in remote journals that are rarely to be found even in libraries. Priority is given to new papers over older ones, although a few of the classics have been included. Words of the author, concise and to the point, have been given preference over the more lengthy treatments. Above all, a breadth of view is represented, which offers for discussion and theory rather than do the microcosmic treatment by most individual archaeologists.

The papers are organised into sections, each section being introduced by a short introduction by the editor. These sections carry subtitles such as 'Pre-historical interest', 'Contact with the West', 'The Major Settlements', 'The Environment', 'The Economy', 'Radio Carbon Chronology', and so on. Significantly, religion is included on religion, or on art and aesthetics. It reflects the bias of the editor, and the prevailing trends of thought today, which emphasise anthropological, the ecological and the ecological points of view. It maintains an embarrassment on the antiquities which is the essential concern of archaeologists.

Among the individual papers of the old classics in the attention. Cunningham's account on Harappa, published in 1875 A.D., is most important for a reconstruction of the appearance of the Harappan civilisation. The paragraph to his account is a long footnote. The civilisation is dramatic. It can be sensed some of the excitement which has been given to the entire new culture by the Aryans, Marshall.

Often has it been given to the archaeologists, as it was given to Stein at Tiryns and to Stein in the desert of Turkestan, to light the remains of a long civilisation. It looks at this moment, as if on the threshold of

such a discovery in the plains of the Indus.

By the time that Marshall wrote these lines in 1924, Daya Ram Sahni's excavations at Harappa had already disclosed seven or eight levels of occupation. The identical character of antiquities unearthed at both Mohenjodaro and Harappa had been noted, to suggest a uniform culture. Already then, the fallacy of the two twin cities and capitals was being laid, and the theory of the 'foreign' seals was being developed.

The controversy over the enigmatic seals precipitated a series of articles in the *London News* in the 1920's. These links with Sumer seem to be confirmed with the discovery of seven seals and one impression of the Ancient Indian style which were discovered

dissimilarities also—eg: in the type of seals (cylindrical as opposed to stamp), architecture, sculpture, etc.—but these are what mark the concrete differentiation between separate societies and culture. The scattered similarities are more difficult to explain. In this particular instance, there are enough distinctive ones to suggest convincingly that some degree of mutual contact must have existed.

Among these affinities, Dales points out the cubical dice 'of Indian origin', with numerals arranged in a specific pattern, found also at Mesopotamia. He also comments on the obese figurines in terracotta found in both cultures, with related significance. He remarks that it may not be sheer coincidence that these appear

vated on the Gujarat coast, with consideration of the question as to whether the evidence includes that of a dockyard at the site. For shortage of space here it is not possible to do more than to refer to these interesting papers.

The editor suggests that one of the important papers in this collection is by Dr. Walter Fairervis, which deals with 'a re-assessment and a re-evaluation of older theories and data.' This paper is placed dramatically as the first at the start of section II, thus giving a distinct bias and leading to 'new conclusions' by reviewing the facts. Fairervis challenges the abstraction of what he describes, as the Wheeler-Piggott theories, which suggest the concept of a generally 'static' culture and of probable 'complacency' which resisted change through centuries. The author also suggests that 'the evidence points to a similarity of climate from ancient to modern times, so that we can conclude the changes in the natural ecology were the result of man's activities' (emphasis mine).

The most original aspect to the theories developed by Dr. Fairervis is his essential concern to link this most ancient basis of our culture to the present. His paper tackles diverse subjects, including that of religion. He investigates the seal of the 'bovine' animal, with marks on the shoulder to represent the painting of sacred marks which also appear on the bulls of the Zhab cult. At this point the author makes the fascinating observation that

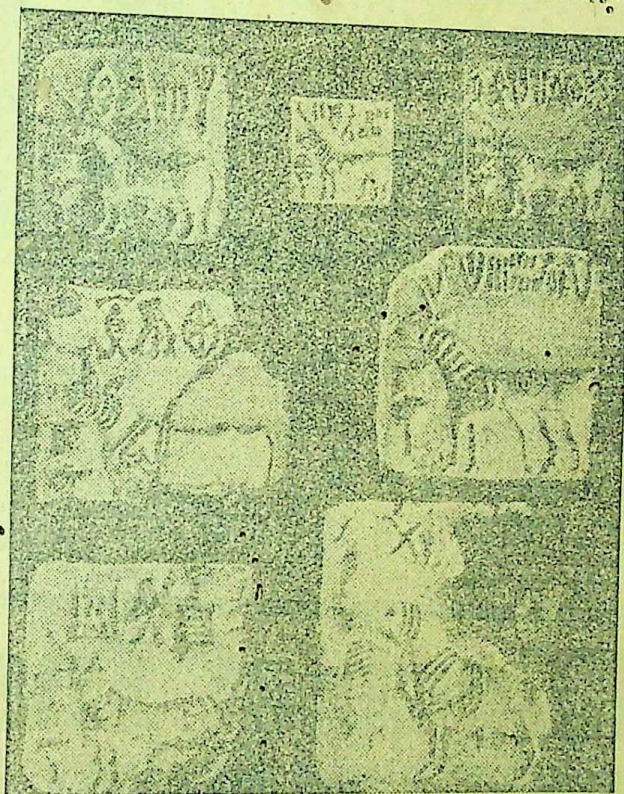
"It seems very clear that our present evidence overwhelmingly supports the ceremonial side... In the bull represented on the seals, we are dealing with an animal that not only must have been a principal factor of the religious scheme, but a significant entity in the economy — perhaps the *raison d'être* for its sacrosanct character."

The final comments by the author establish the essential link of today's approach of archaeology to anthropology. They suggest that the sacredness of cattle in India may derive from the advantage which cattle gave man, in his battle for control of his environment. He concludes:

"The Harappan civilisation is not a watered down Sumeria with Indian embellishments... It is definitely Indian in its important features. One of these features, it appears, is the peculiar situation of a society possessing civilisation but dwelling largely in villages with ceremonial centralization, and decentralization for almost all other purposes."

One valid criticism of this absorbing collection of papers might be that the views of Indians and Pakistanis is perhaps not adequately represented — amounting to nine out of a total of 43 papers. The printing and editing is of a high order, and each article is illustrated with most excellent reprints from the earlier productions. It is worth considering the fact that, due to Dr. Possehl's efforts, the book is heavily subsidised, and sells for what is today to be considered the modest sum of Rs.150. The book deserves attention not only from archaeologists and anthropologists, but from anyone concerned with the origins of our earliest cultural patterns.

Geeti Sen



ENIGMATIC INDUS SEALS: Pre-historic seals from Harappa and Mohenjodaro with an unknown form of picture writing. They bear figures of bulls and mysterious pictographic symbols, some resembling Roman numerals.

at Ur. This section of the excited papers is prefaced (Part IV) with a cautionary note by the editor, who rightly observes that while the seals suggest interaction between the two civilisations, 'it should be kept in mind that in this case we are dealing with a style and many of these seals are not typically Harappan'.

Several decades after the initial excitement on the seals, a paper by S.R. Rao reports on the only western seal of the Persian Gulf type found at Lothal, on the western coast. His paper suggests that the seals were in current usage in several different areas of the ancient world. The precise nature of their usage, and the actual degree to which cross-cultural contacts existed in the ancient world is yet to be determined. A more sober review of the earlier evidence is provided by George Dales, in his paper with the provocative title, 'Of Dice and Men'.

"Granted, there are profound

on the same chronological levels, and that this may be one more evidence for maritime trade.

A section holding primary interest for the specialist is on 'the Major Settlements of the Indus Civilisation'. Here individual papers supplement the original site reports published by Marshall, Mackay, Vats and Khan. The one-season exploration at Mohenjodaro carried out by Dr. Dales lead him to a most fascinating conclusion, that debunks the theory of the Aryan invasion. It suggests that the end of the Indus civilisation was brought out by recurrent floods, and not by invasion and massacre. The important article by B. K. Thapar shows the significance of Kalangan as a pre-Harappan site, continuing into Harappan levels, and of this culture extending beyond the Indus valley belt. In this case, the title of the 'Indus valley culture' becomes a misnomer, and is no longer applicable. Then there are three papers on the important site of Lothal exca-

CITIES OF THE INDUS  
Edited By Gregory Possehl  
Publishing House  
New Delhi, Rs. 150.



# ON MAN IS BOOK

ady who had  
grow a book, let  
ong the crowd-  
library. Some-  
said:  
of books, you  
you read them

ave not gone  
the Oxford Dic-  
that book, The  
arning, has re-  
since I bought

ly was not lis-  
busy looking  
wanted. When  
she turned to

book. I want to  
Do you ever go  
Which book  
ed the most, the  
best?"

thinking. The  
different. The

ider best is not  
book you enjoy

again, there are  
which you learn a

which are nei-  
nor the most en-  
school textbook on

nt me a lot but  
a place in my

have no desire to  
I have even for-  
title and who

er stories and de-  
have helped to

sum of many a  
but each time,  
er the last page,

myself why I ever  
to spend so much  
utterly unreward-

re books that lin-  
emory, and leave

s and incidents  
called with de-  
Drahmah's Kai

contain so many  
sayings that they

quent repetition.  
ce: "It is a mark

purpose to spend  
looking for the

in the low-class  
These are few

life which cannot  
settled, and with-

me, by suicide, a  
or by thrusting a

agonist over the  
recipice on a dark

hundreds of such  
es and gems of

three books on my  
they do not really

responsibility.  
k myself what are

really value, the  
like to have with

cast on a desert  
is not easy to

and. I e

to one c

should t

self a gr

allowed

tire liter

stay on t

unhesita

of Shak

gita and

In these

find all

llectual

tion and

of huma

I hav

cluding

verses,

rythms

Princed

stir the

reach d

and rev

the hu

stands

isolate

tion an

it to l

like a

see, ex

elemen

and te

how it

acts o

did no

they c

by son

pull.

churne

cible a

patter

the sa

er. Di

sense

two li

Gi

On

in

The

repea

beth

man's

any

that

pie

the

of so

indee

a lon



# ON A DESERT ISLAND MAN IS KNOWN BY THE BOOKS HE READS

By G. D. KHOSLA

ady who had  
row a book, let  
ong the crowd-  
library. Some-  
he said:  
of books, you  
you read them

ave not gone  
the Oxford Dic-  
that book. The  
aning, has re-  
since I bought

ly was not lis-  
e busy looking  
e wanted. When  
she turned to

book. I want to  
Do you ever go  
Which book  
ed the most, the  
best?"

thinking. The  
different. The  
ider best is not  
book you enjoy

again, there are  
which you learn a  
which are nei-  
nor the most en-  
school textbook on

at me a lot but  
a place in my  
have no desire to  
I have even for-  
titled and who

er stories and de-  
have helped to  
dition of many a  
but each time,  
er the last page,

myself why I ever  
to spend so much  
utterly unward-

re books that lin-  
emory, and leave  
s and incidents  
called with de-  
Brahmah's Kai

contain so many  
sayings that they  
quent repetition.  
nce: "It is a mark

purpose to spend  
looking for the  
in the low-class  
These are few

life which cannot  
settled, and with-  
me, by suicide, a  
or by thrusting a

agonist over the  
scape on a dark

hundreds of such  
es and gems of  
three books on my  
they do not really

dispensibility.  
k myself what are  
really value, the  
like to have with  
cast on a desert

is not easy to

find. I cannot narrow the choice to one or even two, because I should then have to deny myself a great deal. But, if I were allowed three books as my entire literary pabulum for my stay on the desert island, I would unhesitatingly select the works of Shakespeare, the *Bhagwadgita* and Ghalib's Urdu poems. In these three volumes, I shall find all I need by way of intellectual pleasure, mental stimulation and a true understanding of human beings.

I have no qualms about excluding Milton. His magnificent verses, rolling out in majestic rhythms (Thrones, Dominations, Princedomes, Virtues, Powers) stir the mind, but they do not reach deep down into the soul and reveal the hidden areas of

to terms with Shakespeare and his multifaceted wisdom. I might even end up by learning by heart all his plays, an ambition I have entertained ever since I was made to memorize the whole of *Julius Caesar* by the Jesuit brothers at the school I went to. Then I should be able to relish to the full the beauty, the poetry, the insight into human thought and action and the lulling measures of his verse.

The *Bhagwadgita*, is another book which I must have on my desert island.

The edition I always keep with me has the original verses in Sanskrit with their literal meaning in Hindi, and as I read and reread the verses, I am endlessly excited by their changing rhythms

## The world well lost for Shakespeare, The Gita and Ghalib

the human heart. Shakespeare stands alone in his ability to isolate every type of human emotion and experience and relating it to life as it is lived. He is like a super chemist who can see, examine and explain each element of the human psyche, and tell you what is its nature, how it functions and how it reacts on the other elements. He did not have to search for words; they came to him as if drawn by some irresistible magnetic pull. The alchemy of his genius churned them in his poetic crucible and sprinkled them out in patterns that amaze and, at the same time, delight the reader. Dignity, pathos and an utter sense of defeat combine in the two lines spoken by Cleopatra:

Give me my robe, put on my Crown, I have Immortal longings in me.

The single word tomorrow repeated three times by Macbeth lays bare the tragedy of a man's soul, more poignantly than any other phrase or utterance that I have read. The *Comte* Shakespeare is an absolute must, if I have to spend years of solitude on a desert island. Indeed, I would almost welcome a long Selkirkian exile to come

suited to the substance of the thought expressed. The inexorable logic of the argument, the slow but vigorous exposition of Lord Krishna's theme and the final conversion of Arjuna has never ceased to fill me with awe, astonishment and a full-blooded hope which makes me regard the increasing wickedness of the world around me with a sort of incorrigible optimism.

Here lies compressed within the ambit of 700 verses an entire, viable and satisfying philosophy of life for the devotee, for the man of action and for the man who seeks wisdom. To say categorically that one has the right to perform acts but no right to the award thereof is a ruthless direction, but the more one reads the verses of this Song Celestial the more one is convinced of the utter inevitability and inexorability of what the Lord said. There is almost as much expository literature about the *Bhagwadgita* as on Shakespeare, but I like to read and reread to myself the original verses. If I stayed long enough on the hypothetical desert island, I should be able to drink deeply of the wisdom and the

beauty of this book.

My last choice is even more personal. At the beginning of the 19th century, I came to Delhi at the age of ten, and for five of the most impressionable years of my life, I read Urdu and Persian poetry. In the streets of old Delhi and on the steps of Jama Masjid, I heard Urdu spoken in I went to mushairas and heard indulgent elders applaud my feeble compositions. I read Ghalib and felt the deep sensuous beauty of his verses. Adolescence is the best time for the pleasures provided by the poetry of love, especially unrequited love, for at that age there are dreams, vague longings and unfulfilled desires which respond to and are stimulated by the half understood utterance of a poet like Ghalib who says so much in so little and often means more than his words.

Since then I have read and understood Ghalib and marvelled at his ability to extract the quintessence of a sentiment, an experience, and record it in the fewest possible words. I read some of his almost cryptic lines. I go on repeating them till their meaning swells and swells to fill my entire being and I all but feel in full measure the emotion that moved Ghalib to tear out his heart and transmute it into a single couplet. No other poet has achieved this degree of success and in a way, Ghalib is superior even to Shakespeare in his ability to compress emotion and experience, though he does not deal with the same variety of human experience as Shakespeare. On my desert island, therefore, I shall carry the small pocket book containing Ghalib's 1,700 verses.

I shall miss many books. *Alice in Wonderland* is a book I can read and re-read many times over. Shelley, Keats, Don Quixote, the Authorised Version of the Bible, Iqbal, Hafiz, Shakespeare, Fielding, Dickens, Moliere and many many others are great favourites. Often, I take down an old favourite and re-read the familiar pages, enjoying them as much as when I read the book the first time. But if I have to limit the selection to three books on a desert island, I would choose the three I have named, for of these three, the *Bhagwadgita*, Shakespeare's complete works and Ghalib's Urdu poems, I can never tire and can go on re-reading them till I know them by heart.



ssa

ROED human hist  
5,000 years old. R  
the Middle Ages—  
back—life on earth  
cutish and short,  
essance brought the  
and doubt, replac  
ion.

Large parts of n  
earth are horrify  
ine, famine, plague  
e still talk the la  
side, cruelty, hypocri  
intolerance and aggr  
characterise our soc  
Whereas war continu  
its heavy toll, assassin  
attempted assassinati  
the roost.

earliest recorded assas  
of a political head  
Philip II, King of M  
followed by that  
Caesar, the Roman dict  
utus in 44 BC.

arly, the history  
is replete with such  
The victims compris  
ebrities as the kings  
Portugal and Yugoslav  
Russia and Presiden  
e. In our century, t  
of Archduke Francis F  
of Austria which spark  
first World War has r  
rotten.

#### GREAT MEN

Europe in mode  
Mahatma Gandhi, t  
of the Nation, Liagu  
in the Prime Minist  
an. Dr Khan Sahib,  
t leader of pre-par  
s, Patrice Lumumba  
go and Tom Moby  
have all fallen to  
bullets.

there is the mur  
two Kennedys and M  
er King and the abor  
on the life of the P  
of the USA. Mr Ron  
The last one was sl  
than two months af  
sworn as the 40th P  
of the USA.

ot so lucky were  
ors of Mr Reagan. T  
die was no less a p  
the celebrated Ab  
coln. Even as he v  
in a theatre in Wa  
he was shot  
ack of his h  
deranged actor na  
Wilks Booth. The



# Assassinations through the ages

By N. D. BATRA

REDED human history 5,000 years old. Right the Middle Ages—400 back—life on earth was brutish and short. But science brought the age of science and doubt, replacing

large parts of mo- earth are horrifying: famine, plague and still stalk the land. side, cruelty, hypocrisy, intolerance and aggression characterise our social life. Whereas war continues its heavy toll, assassins attempted assassinations the roost.

earliest recorded assassi- of a political head is Philip II, King of Ma- followed by that of Caesar, the Roman dictat- utus in 44 BC.

arly, the history of is replete with such in- The victims comprised ebrities as the kings of Portugal and Yugoslavia; Russia and Presidents. In our century, the of Archduke Francis Fer of Austria which sparked first World War has not gotten.

## GREAT MEN

Europe in modern Mahatma Gandhi, the of the Nation, Liaquat the Prime Minister an. Dr Khan Sahib, a leader of pre-parti- Patrice Lumumba of go and Tom Moby of have all fallen to the bullets.

there is the murder of Kennedy and Mar- King and the aborted on the life of the Pre- of the USA. Mr Ronald The last one was shot than two months after sworn as the 40th Pre- of the USA.

not so lucky were the of Mr Reagan. The die was no less a per- the celebrated Abra- coln. Even as he was in a theatre in Wash- he was shot in back of his head deranged actor nam- Wilks Booth. The fol-

lowing morning, on Good Fri- day in 1865, he died his death, it is said, was a sequel to his signing the famous Emancipa- tion Proclamation which freed all slaves in the country. With this, he rang his own death- knell too.

Next to follow was James Abraham Garfield, the 20th Pre- sident. Four months after tak- ing over, while waiting at the sleepy station of Baltimore for a train to his old college where he was due to speak, he was gunned down on the rail- way platform.

The assassin, Charles J. Gul- tau, shot the President twice—once in the arm and the other bullet entered the spine. For two months, the injured Presi- dent hovered between life and death, before succumbing to his gangrene-infected wound on September 19, 1881.

But it was William McKing- ley—school teacher turned law- yer, who was the third assass- in's victim. He was gunned down at the Pan Exhibition in Buffalo, New York, stopping two shots high in the chest. He died eight days later in hospital.

Nor is the Papacy spared. The last Pope to be murdered was Luis II in 1145. He was killed in the middle ages by a volley of stones, as he was lead- ing an assault on a violent group of opponents on Capital Hill in Rome.

In sharp contrast was the fate of Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981. He was shot twice in the abdomen by a right wing Turkish terrorist, Mehmet Ali Agca.

Providentially the other one to escape death was Britain's Queen Elizabeth, though rather less narrowly. On one of her visits to an oil refinery, security men located a bomb planted on the royal route by an Irish Repub-

lican terrorist, while in another incident a gunman fired a point-blank pistol at a military parade. The present British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was lucky when the terrorists tried abor- tedly to blow up the building in which she was to preside over a meeting.

Nevertheless, the assassins have succeeded in their bid on the lives of Mr Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Mr Zia-ur-Rahman of Bangladesh, Mr Mohammed Ali Rajal of Iran and the Iranian Prime Minister, Mr Mo- hammed Jayad Bahonar.

The latest to join is no less

a person than Mrs Indira Gandhi. They were persons of a different mould, pioneers all, men and women who started a new age for which they have paid the heaviest price.

## VIOLENCE

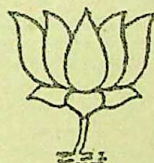
Although reasons for assas- sinations may differ, the phe- nomenon remains unabated even today. Sadly enough, it is beneath the veneer of the highly sophisticated lives which people now effect to lead in the industrialised world that there still lurks a great deal of violence as it did in earlier centuries.

Man possesses the where- withals to change himself and his environment. These in- clude, among other things, knowledge, technology and economic resources which, given the will, can be pooled for the common good.

## Election symbols

The election commission has recognised seven national parties and 31 regional parties for

the eighth general elections. Given below are the symbols of all the national parties and some of the important regional parties.



Bharatiya Janata Party



Communist Party of India



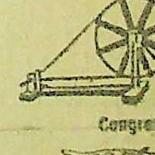
Communist Party of India (Marxist)



Lok Dal (DMKP)



Janata Party



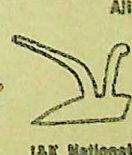
Congress (I)



Congress (L)



Telugu Desam



J&K National Conference



All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam



DO  
app  
out  
nation  
of a  
com  
reign  
fair  
we  
Do  
telev  
effici  
no  
ous  
plain  
eter  
they  
that  
Doe  
degi  
Tern  
sions  
ave  
in  
th  
hi  
on  
tra  
2  
des  
rari  
thor  
mie  
at  
wa  
the  
no  
f  
e  
ait  
ee



# TIME TO REMEDY THE ABSENCE OF POLICY

## PARTY MUST LEAD AND NOT ONLY REPRESENT

By PRAN CHOPRA

**A**N omnipresent and heterogeneous Congress, and the eminence of a single personality for almost a decade and a half, helped India in evolving a country-wide polity when little else was available to help it evolve. But they also exacted a fearful price which it may no longer be necessary to pay; perhaps it is no longer even possible to pay it.

The Congress Party has become altogether so inclusive that as a party it cannot possibly have a sensation of moving in any one direction. It is so wide-based—not just a centrist party hugging the middle of the road but a party which spreads from the centre to both ends, hogging the whole road—that it seems immovable. Any sense of direction it may have had in the past 18 years did not come from within; it was imparted by one man and his changing team of associates. The party as a whole is virtually incoherent. It is more a congress of parties; hence any dialogue within it is not only rare but soon breaks out into factious disputes which are no different from quarrels between rival parties.

The Congress as it cannot possibly perform an important function of the party in power in a democracy: to be the bridge between the people and the Government. Any tendency towards it is immediately blocked by the vast gap in the thinking and attitudes of different groups in the party. The Congress has therefore entirely failed to do what Mahatma Gandhi would have wanted it to do as the Lok Sevak Sangh: to carry the people forward with it. This, even more than the aloofness or the inefficiency of the administration, is responsible for the failure of all schemes of the Government which require a massive participation by the people.

### DEAD MAN'S SHOES

It is important enough for the party as a whole to have the coherent articulation of like-minded people; for the higher echelons, especially the Cabinet, it is indispensable. But it is here that articulation is missed most often; its lack becomes a major contemporary weakness in the polity. Mr Shastri's Cabinet may seem especially discordant but in fact it is not; such confusion is perennial in the Congress leadership. That this Cabinet is afflicted by one special handicap is true. It is like a garment tailored for a man of a different size which Mr Shastri has inherited, almost unaltered. He lacks the glamour of his predecessor for carrying off this ill-fitting hand-me-

believe to be their rights. But beyond that it weakens unity by providing too little leadership, much more than it could by providing too much. Now a tumbling Centre will spread cracks, not one which knows its mind and makes it known. This is as true of the country today as it has been of the party for some time.

Nor is the old kind of unity going to be available for long, even at the price of keeping the Congress such a diluted mixture that no one may hesitate to swallow it. Factionalism has gone too far in it for that; the pace will only increase with time. As the polity develops so will special interests; both vertical and horizontal differentiations will grow; each special group will either want a political label (or at least a lobby) of its own or will join hands with those who are most approximate to it.

The political colour of the country will thus cease to be the pale monotone that it was in the heyday of the Congress, thinly spread over the whole country. Instead there will be many areas of distinct colouration. This will not be a sign of impending break-up but maturity. But any party attempting to claim the equal allegiance of all areas will constantly slip down the path of minimum allegiance; strong loyalty will be rendered only to a leadership which dares to be distinctive itself. It will not avail the Congress much to keep up the losing battle of "discipline" against growing disparities. The only choice before it will be, as it has already become, either complete disintegration or a drastic slimming down to achieve a clear and a very definite form. The party will have to discover its own voice and to let those who disagree go.

Previous departures from its ranks have put the Congress in mortal fear of schisms. Hence the doubt among many of its leaders whether the sloughing off of dissidents will leave the rest more united. It did not in the past; those who remained in the party were still prone to division and from the same sort of causes: disappointment in the search for power, not ideology. But that is mainly

the fault of the leadership itself. It never abandoned its ideological ambivalence. If a schism made its image any clearer—successive departures of the leftists for example made Mr Nehru more clearly a prisoner of the right—it did so indirectly and for brief periods. Ambivalence took over again, and again in the name of unity.

Enduring clarity can only result from a more conscious search for it, and by a process in which more than a clique at the top can join. The Congress Party has been singularly innocent of discussion in its ranks; there has never been any means of knowing with what sanction the various resolutions of the Working Committee are passed; there has never been a system of debate proceeding from the lower ranks to higher, hence never a way of knowing who are the true leaders of the party. The other side of this deficiency has been a grievous handicap for the Government: it has never had a good channel of communication leading down to the ranks, let alone to the people without. Its views are evolved in a vacuum at the top; hence they are always vulnerable to the challenge of dissidence. But if a clear lead is given at the top and put constantly to the test of a debate on the rungs, more homogeneity and a firmness should follow; this will be a far better check on dissidence than spasmodic exercises in imposing "discipline", and a far better basis for national unity in the party than the previous heterogeneity and flabbiness.

### FUNCTION OF CONSENSUS

This is not counsel against the search for consensus; nor would it mean interminable splintering of policy. Disagreement between hair-splitting theological extremists is not the only alternative to a false aura of "agreements". Consensus cannot bridge unbridgeable gulfs; whatever appears to do so from time to time is not consensus but confusion. But if the philosophy of the party is clearly formulated consensus can take care of the legitimate divergence on specific issues. That is the proper function of consensus, not so to diffuse the meaning of policy that it should mean all things to all men. Fortunately for the Congress the central area of agreement which is quite feasible in India is large enough to be the base of an all-India party. In nearly all areas of thinking this is still a middle-of-the-road country; anyone who consciously formulates this preference can be adequately representative of the country as a whole. The formulation need not be thwarted by a morbid fear of splinters. If the Congress chooses to say clearly where it stands, it will find a surprising number of people willing to stand with it, if it keeps constantly running after the rest as well, it will only run the risk of an early collapse.

It has to show its mettle in handling the specifics of policy, not in generating a vague sentiment of loyalty to an amorphous party or an avuncular Government in distant New Delhi. The Centre still cannot disregard regional sentiments, as it tried blunderingly to do over the language issue; nor can it ignore the States' attachment to what they



Two

The speed at which the Government was able to come to terms in the sixties is remarkable in the Punjab. It is not possible to dispose of the demand for a new State. Indeed, it is possible that the Government even more short-lived than the one which preceded it, a community which has been the subject of compensation as the State has been the subject of grievances ever since the Partition, and of late they have been the subject of the rest of the world. The Sikhs have been successful. They have succeeded in whatever course, a tribute to the Government's resources. But it is not possible to make it possible to put the Government to the utmost and to the Government to put obstacles in the way of such a thing. The ordinary grievances of the Government are the subject of the Government's resources.

But while the wrong to ignore the petite grows with the section of the Sikh (with justly) aggrieved. And there are other road for example and not the Sikh seek compensation. For all we know might have encouraged. But the man done so even offered to be more "national independence, some of the Sikh identity. Most of these individuals passports and avoid. But that is precisely the protests over the Amritsar.

This is one side of the "regionalism" and the Khaddim did not have to go to the West. And in 1947, no group of people thoroughly and democratically divides the political nationalism does not accommodate with the set-up. Tamil "nationalism". But it was a such. In any case, we were willing to let the process so long as the trade and industry of Punjab cannot be a problem can, then it is possible that the community is too deep of it and set adri-



## Two "Nationalisms"

The speed and ease with which the Indian political system was able to cope with the challenge of Tamil "nationalism" in the sixties is reassuring in the present context of the turmoil in Punjab. It offers us the hope that we may be able to dispose of the demand for Khalistan equally quickly and easily. Indeed, it is possible that this challenge might turn out to be even more short-lived. The demand for a separate state ill suits a community which has done as well under the existing dispensation as the Sikhs have. Some of them have been inventing grievances ever since the country became independent in 1947 and of late they have managed to make themselves heard better by the rest of the community than ever before. But essentially the Sikhs have suffered from the embarrassment of success. They have succeeded possibly beyond their own expectations in whatever field they have chosen to enter. This is, of course, a tribute to their own physical, mental and spiritual resources. But it is also a tribute to the system which has made it possible for them to exercise their faculties to the utmost and to the rest of us who have at the very least never tried to put obstacles in their path. Such a community operating in such a helpful milieu cannot wish to wallow in imaginary grievances for long.

But while there is reason to be optimistic, it would be wrong to ignore the contrary signals. As the saying goes, appetite grows with eating. So it is possible that a significant section of the Sikh community is genuinely (not to be confused with justly) aggrieved precisely because it has done so well. And there are other sources of dissatisfaction — the Sikhs abroad for example. The crisis of identity affects them and not the Sikhs in India and they are tending to seek compensation in espousal of the Khalistan demand. For all we know, some external agency or agencies might have encouraged certain individuals to raise this demand. But the more pertinent point is that they could have done so even otherwise. Just as some Indians in Britain tended to be more "nationalistic" than many of us at home before independence, some of the Sikhs abroad can be stronger champions of Sikh identity and "nationhood" than Sikhs at home. Most of these individuals would do anything to acquire foreign passports and avoid returning home where life is rather harsh. But that is precisely the reason why they are so loud in their protests over the "desecration" of the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

This is one significant difference between Tamil "nationalism" and the Khalistan movement, whatever its strength. We did not have to contend with prosperous Tamil communities in the West. And there are some others. Since partition in 1947, no group of Indians has mixed religion and politics as thoroughly and dangerously as the Akalis. This kind of politics divides the people in a state in question as linguistic nationalism does not and is, therefore, much more difficult to accommodate within the framework of the country's federal set-up. Tamil "nationalism" was, on the face of it, anti-Brahmin. But it was anti-Brahmin hegemony, not anti-Brahmin as such. In any case, the Brahmins were a small minority, who were willing to be pushed to the periphery of the political process so long as they could function freely in the professions, trade and industry in the rest of the country. The Hindus in Punjab cannot be dealt with on a similar basis. The present problem can, therefore, turn out to be more intractable, though it is possible that the Akalis would realise that the Sikh community is too deeply rooted in the Indian soil to be torn out of it and set adrift on the perilous journey to nowhere.



DO  
appl  
bul  
mane  
of a  
comf  
relig  
ran  
we  
D  
telex  
thick  
no  
ous  
plain  
ster  
they  
that  
Don  
degi  
cri  
sions  
ave  
Ja  
th  
h  
On  
the  
res  
ran  
tioi  
mit  
at  
va  
the  
no  
I  
e  
sil  
e







